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CHOICE PASSAGES.

The Elizabethan Library.

B.9.

Choice Paſſages from the Writings and Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh; being a ſmall Sheaf of Gleanings from a golden Harveſt by Alexander B. Groſart

91791

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1893

828
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RODUCTION.

booklet does not give a tithe
ared for the preſs after all
ıtant reduction and ſifting.
half a ſcore of volumes of
y ſhould ſtill leave many
translunary things'
ut by the 'gentle reader' (to
old kindly phraſe). Was it
ſaid of the notorious Dr.
ties of Shakeſpeare,' 'Yes;
t where are the reſt?' I
retort may be made upon me,
relation to the entire ſeries
ırms one. But be it remem-
ingly, that one 'motif' in the
his **Elizabethan Library** *is*
ıt to exhauſt, intereſt in the
ure of those 'ſpacious days.'
will be defeated unleſs in
caſe our relatively ſlight
our readers to the complete

E PASSAGES *from Raleigh (or*

as he mainly ſpelled his name, Ralegh; albeit I have ſeen both at Hatfield and Liſmore Caſtle, and elſewhere, 'Raleigh') are meant to ſerve a double end, viz., to preſent him as Writer and as Man. That is to ſay, an endeavour has been made to bring together repreſentative quotations whereby to illuſtrate his diſtinction of ſtyle, the ſtately march of his ſentences, his cultured alluſiveneſs, his picked and packed words, and at the ſame time to preſerve perſonal traits of character, opinion, and ſentiment, and the lights and ſhadows of his many-ſided and ſplendid career—the career of an Engliſhman of high heroic mould, whoſe ſimple name abides a ſpell to all the Engliſh-ſpeaking race. I confeſs that a lump comes to my throat as I read his 'Farewell Letters' (pp. 30-40) and 'Defences' (pp. 71-102). That ſuch a head ſhould have been ſtruck off is of the infamies of our iſland-ſtory. One inevitably pronounces it damnable, that it ſhould have been poſſible for four ſovereigns of England in ſucceſſion to perpetrate judicial murders of this type and the nation be dumb—Henry VIII., of More; Elizabeth, of Eſſex; James I., of Raleigh; and Charles I., of Strafford and Eliot.

It is remarkable how the leaſt and moſt private letters, as the moſt ſelf-evidently communicated learning, takes a ſtamp of noticeableneſs, either of thought, or turn of wording, or of graciouſneſs.

I have reſiſted the temptation of annotating a number of places that invitingly lend themſelves thereto, e.g., the ſtinging 'epitaphs' on Saliſbury and Leiceſter—the former immortally gibbeted by Spenſer in 'Mother Hubberd's Tale,' his terrible letter about Eſſex, his 'Inſtructions' to his ſon—given happily in completeneſs—his 'Defences' of his Guiana enterpriſe, his priſon-books (p. 162), *and the like. It had been a ſuperfluous ſhow of cheap learning to have marred the ſymmetry of the page by inſertion of minute tracings of trite claſſical quotations and references.*

This is hardly the place or occaſion to ıtermeddle *with the elder* D'Israeli's 'erary (or *unliterary*) '*mare's neſt*' *of the* o-called) '*ſecret hiſtory*' *of the Hiſtory of* World—*ſeeing that he is conſtrained to* nit *that for* '*magnificence of eloquence* ' *maſſiveneſs of thought we muſt ſtill* ll *on his pages,*' *and that undoubtedly* the *eloquent, the grand, and the pathetic* ges *interſperſed in the venerable*

volume,' were his own ('Curiosities of Literature,' iii., pp. 113, 132).

The following are the fuller titles of the several books from which these CHOICE PASSAGES *have been gleaned, with our signs:*

a. The History of the World (ed. 1614, *folio) = H. W.*

b. Maxims of State = M.

c. The Cabinet-Council, containing the chief arts of Empire and Mysteries of State (originally published by Milton) = Cab.

d. The Discoverie of Guiana = 'Discoverie.'

e. The Prerogative of Parliaments = P. of P.

f. Instructions to his Son and Posterity— complete.

g. Letters (from Edwards' 'Life and Letters') = Letters.

h. Poems.

The last ('Poems') are, alas! limited to two — the subtle and cunningly-wrought love-poems, the second of which drew from Abp. Trench an unusually fervent tribute of praise ('Household Book of English Poetry'), and the great LAST LINES.

preſently-available collective edi-
Works of Raleigh is the utterly
ne from 'the Univerſity Preſs'
(8 *vols.*, 1829). *For his com-*
ſee Archdeacon Hannay's admir-
' edition—a charming book.

A. B. G.

's Vestry,
burn, Lancashire.

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IH AND BARSHEBA.

veak eſtate of body, when
a manner bedrid, Adonijah,
(Amnon and Abſalom being
aving drawn unto his party
ole, renowned, and feared
Abiathar the prieſt, began
prepare for his eſtabliſh-
kingdom after his father.
he eldeſt now living of
and a man of goodly per-
mon yet young, and born
formerly attainted with
or which her name was
St. Matthew, (as Bede,
Thomas [Aquinas], and
ſe) he preſumed to carry
ithout reſiſtance. (H. W.,
.)

AMBITION AND GLORY.

If we ſeek a reaſon of the ſucceſſic and continuance of this boundleſs an bition in mortal men, we may add . . . that the kings and princes of the wor have always laid before them the actio but not the ends of thoſe great on which preceded them. They are a ways tranſported with the glory of t one, but they never mind the miſery the other till they find the experien in themſelves. They neglect the advi of God, while they enjoy life, or hop but they follow the counſel of Dea upon his firſt approach. (H. W., B. c. vi.)

TRIFLES IN BIOGRAPHY.

I think it not impertinent ſometim to relate ſuch accidents as may ſeem r better than mere trifles; for even t trifles are the qualities of great perſo as well diſcloſed as by their great action becauſe in matters of importance th commonly ſtrain themſelves to the o

ınce of general commended rules; ſſer things they follow the current ıeir own natures. (H. W., B. iv.,)

THE CHURCH.

Laban not 'out of the Church.'

though it be the opinion of St. ·ſoſtom and ſome later writers, as tan, Oleaster, Muſculus, Calvin, ːer, and others, that Laban was lolater becauſe he retained certain or houſehold gods which Rachel from him; yet that he believed in rue God, it cannot be denied. For ːknowledgeth the God of Abraham ɔf Nahor, and he called Abraham's nt bleſſed of Jehovah, as aforeſaid. s for myſelf, I dare not avow that men were out of the Church, who, I am, were not out of the faith. W., B. ii., c. i.)

ˈbe Tabernacle—reverence for the Church.

his was the order of the army of ːl and of their encamping and

marching: the Tabernacle of God being always ſet in the middle and centre thereof. The reverent care which Moſes, the prophet and choſen ſervant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and leaſt parts of the Tabernacle, Ark, and Sanctuary, witneſſed well the inward and moſt humble zeal borne towards God Himſelf. The induſtry uſed in the framing thereof, and every and the leaſt part thereof; the curious workmanſhip thereon beſtowed; the exceeding charge and expenſe of the proviſions; the dutiful obſervance in the laying up and preſerving the holy veſſels; the ſolemn renewing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the prudent defence of the ſame, which all ages have in ſome degree imitated, is now ſo forgotten and caſt away in this ſuperfine age, by thoſe of THE FAMILY, by the Anabaptiſt, the Browniſt, and other ſectaries, as all coſt and care beſtowed and had of the Church wherein God is to be revered and worſhipped is accounted a kind of Popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous diſpoſition; inſomuch as time would ſoon bring to paſs (if it were not

reſiſted) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains and under the hedges; and the offices of the miniſtry (robbed of all dignity and reſpect) be as contemptible as thoſe places; all order, diſcipline, and church government left to newneſs of opinion and men's fancy; yea, and ſoon after as many kinds of religions ſpring up as there are pariſh churches within England; every contentious and ignorant perſon clothing his fancy with the "Spirit of God," and his imagination with "the gift of revelation"; inſomuch as when the truth which is loſt, and ſhall appear to the ſimple multitude no leſs variable than contrary to itſelf, the faith of men will ſoon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in ſcorn and contempt. (H. W., B. ii., c. v.)

DAGON AND THE ARK OF GOD.

The Philiſtines returning with the greateſt victory and glory which ever they obtained, carried the Ark of God

with them to Azotus, and ſet it up in the houſe of Dagon, their idol; but that night the idol fell out of his place from above to the ground, and lay under the Ark. The morning following they took it up and ſet it again in his place, and it fell the ſecond time, and the head brake from the body, and the hands from the arms, ſhowing that it had nor power nor underſtanding in the preſence of God; for the head fell off, which is the ſeat of reaſon and knowledge, and the hands (by which we execute ſtrength) were ſundered from the arms. For God and the Devil inhabit not in one houſe, nor in one heart. And if this idol could not endure the repreſentative of the true God, it is not to be marvelled that at ſuch time as it pleaſed Him to cover His only-begotten with fleſh and ſent Him into the world, that all the oracles wherein the Devil derided and betrayed mortal men loſt power, ſpeech and operation at the inſtant. For when that true Light which had never beginning of brightneſs, brake through the clouds of a virgin's body, ſhining upon the earth which had been long obſcured by idolatry, all thoſe foul and ſtinking

vapours vaniſhed. Plutarch rehearſeth a memorable accident in that age concerning the death of the great god Pan, as he ſtyleth him; where (as ignorant of the true cauſe), he ſearcheth his brains for many reaſons of ſo great an alteration; yet finds he none out but frivolous. For not only this old devil did then die, as he ſuppoſed, but all the reſt, as Apollo, Jupiter, Diana, and the whole rabble became ſpeechleſs. (H. W., B. ii., c. xv.)

CHRONOLOGY.

Since I do here enter into that never reſolved queſtion and labyrinth of times [= Chronology], it behoveth me to give reaſon for my own opinion; and with ſo much the greater care and circumſpection, becauſe I walk aſide and in a way apart from the multitude; yet not alone and without companions, though the fewer in numbers; with whom I rather chooſe to endure the wounds of thoſe darts which Envy caſteth at Novelty, than to go ſafely and ſleepily

in the eaſy ways of ancient miſtakings; ſeeing to be learned in many errors, as to be ignorant in all things, hath little diverſity. (H. W., B. ii., c. i.)

CONSCIENCE.

A Clear Conſcience.

For myſelf, if I have in anything ſerved my Country, and prized it before my private; the general acceptation can yield me no other profit at this time, than doth a fair ſunſhine day to a ſeaman after ſhipwreck; and the contrary, no other harm than an outrageous tempeſt after the port attained. I know that I loſt the love of many for my fidelity towards her [Queen Elizabeth] whom I muſt ſtill honour in the duſt; though further than the defence of her excellent perſon, I never perſecuted [= oppoſed] any man. Of thoſe that did it, and by what device they did it, He that is the ſupreme Judge of all the world hath taken the account. So as for this kind of ſuffering, I muſt ſay with Seneca, *Mala opinio, bene parta, delectat.*

ıer men; if there be any that
le themſelves fathers of that
ich hath been begotten for
an neither envy at ſuch their
glory, nor much lament mine
ap in that kind; but content
ı ſay with Virgil, *Sic vos non*
many particulars. (Preface,

)LATION.—ON DEATH LADY CECIL, 1596-7.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

Becauſe I know not how you
ıf yourſelf, I forbear to viſit
:ferring your pleaſing before
ı deſire. I had rather be with
than at any other time if I
reby either take off from you
:n of your ſorrows, or lay the
art thereof on mine own heart.
eantime I would but mind you
ıat you ſhould not overſhadow
ſdom with paſſion, but look
:o things as they are.
is no man ſorry for death itſelf,
for the time of death; every-

one knowing that it is a bond never forfeited to God. If, then, we know the ſame to be certain and inevitable, we ought withal to take the time of his arrival in as good part as the knowledge, and not to lament at the inſtant of every ſeeming adverſity, which, we are aſſured, have been on their way towards us from the beginning. It appertaineth to every man of a wiſe and worthy ſpirit to draw together into ſufferance the unknown future to the known preſent; looking no leſs with the eyes of the mind than thoſe of the body—the one beholding afar off and the other at hand —that thoſe things of this world in which we live be not ſtrange unto us when they approach, as to feebleneſs which is moved with novelties. But that like true men, participating immortality and knowing our deſtinies to be of God, we do then make our eſtates and works, our fortunes and deſires, all one.

It is true that you have loſt a good and virtuous wife, and myſelf an honourable friend and kinſwoman. But there was a time when ſhe was unknown to you, for whom you then lamented not. She is now no more, no more yours,

your acquaintance; but immor-
d not needing or knowing your
r ſorrow. Therefore you ſhall
eve for that which now is as then
when not yours; only bettered
difference in this, that ſhe hath
: weariſome journey of this dark
and hath poſſeſſion of her inherit-
She hath left behind her the
her love; for whoſe ſakes you
:o care for yourſelf, that you leave
ıot without a guide, and not by
g to repine at His will that gave
/ou, or by ſorrowing to dry up
wn times that ought to eſtabliſh

lieve it that ſorrows are dangerous
ıions, converting bad into evil
ril into worſe, and do no other
than multiply harm. They are
aſures of weak hearts and of the
The mind that entertaineth
s as the earth and duſt, whereon
ı and adverſities of the world do,
beaſts of the field, tread, trample
:file. The mind of man is that
God which is in us, which, by
uch it is ſubject to paſſion, by ſo
it is further from Him that gave

it us. Sorrows draw not the dead to life, but the living to death. And if I were myſelf to adviſe myſelf in the like, I would never forget my patience till I ſaw all and the worſt of evils, and ſo grieve for all at once; leſt lamenting for ſome one another might not remain in the power of Deſtiny of greater diſcomfort.

Yours ever beyond the power of words to utter, W. RALEGH. ('Letters,' pp. 161-163—endorſed by William Cecil, 2nd Earl of Saliſbury: 'Sir Walter Ralegh's letters to my Father, touching the deathe of my Mother.')

CONTROVERSY.

Contentions among Profeſſing Chriſtians.

Certainly there is nothing more to be admired [=wondered at] and more to be lamented, than the private contentions, the paſſionate diſputes, the perſonal hatred and the perpetual war, menaces and murders for religion among Chriſtians; the diſcourſe whereof hath ſo occupied the world as it hath well-near driven the practice thereof out of the

world. Who would not ſoon reſolve, that took knowledge but of the religious diſputations among men and not of their lives which diſpute, that there were no other thing in their deſires than the purchaſe of heaven; and that the world itſelf were but uſed as it ought, and as an inn or place wherein to repoſe ourſelves in paſſing on towards our celeſtial habitation? .When, on the contrary, beſides the diſcourſe and outward profeſſion, the ſoul hath nothing but hypocriſy. We are all (in effect) become comedians in religion, and while we act in geſture and voice divine virtues, in all the courſe of our lives we renounce our perſons and the parts we play. For charity, juſtice and truth have but their being in terms, like the Philoſopher's *materia prima.* Neither is it that wiſdom which Solomon defineth to be the *ſchool-maſters of the knowledge of God*, that hath valuation in the world; it is enough that we give our good word; but the ſame which is altogether exerciſed in the ſervice of the world, as the gathering of riches chiefly, by which we purchaſe and obtain honours, with the many reſpects which attend it. (Preface, H. W.)

DUELLING AND PSEUDO-HONOUR.

Origin of the Duel.

After ſuch time as Francis the French king upon ſome diſpute about breach of faith, had ſent the lie unto the emperor Charles the Fifth, thereby to draw him to a perſonal combat, every petty companion in France, in imitation of their maſter, made the giving of the lie mortality itſelf; holding it a matter of no ſmall glory to have it ſaid, that the meaneſt gentleman in France would not put up what the great emperor Charles the Fifth had patiently endured. From this beginning is derived a challenge of combat, grounded upon none of theſe occaſions that were known to the ancients. For the honour of nations, the trial of right, the wager upon champions, or the objection and refutation of capital offences, are none of them nor all of them together, the argument of half ſo many duels as are founded upon mere private anger; yea or upon matter ſeeming worthy of anger in the opinion of the duelliſts. So that in theſe days, wherein every

man takes unto himſelf a kingly liberty to offer, accept, and appoint perſonal combats, the giving of the lie, which ought to be the negation only in accuſations for life, is become the moſt fruitful root of deadly quarrels. This is held a word ſo terrible and a charge ſo unpardonable, as will admit no other recompenſe than the blood of him that gives it. Thus the faſhion, taken up in haſte by the French gentlemen after the pattern of their king, is grown to be a cuſtom, whence we have derived a kind of art and philoſophy of quarrel, with certain grounds and rules, from whence the points of honour and the dependencies thereof are deduced. Yea there are (among many others no leſs ridiculous) ſome ſo myſtical curioſities herein, as that it is held a far greater diſhonour to receive from an enemy a ſlight touch with a cane than a ſound blow with a ſword; the one having relation to a ſlave, the other to a ſoldier. I confeſs that the difference is petty; though for mine own part, if I had had any ſuch Italianated enemy in former times, I ſhould willingly have made with him ſuch an exchange, and have

given him the point of honour to boot.

But let us examine indifferently [= unprejudicedly] the offence of this terrible word 'the *lie*,' with their conditions who are commonly of all others the moſt tender in receiving it. I ſay, that the moſt of thoſe who preſent death on the points of their ſwords to all that give it them, uſe nothing ſo much in their converſation and courſe of life, as to ſpeak and ſwear falſely. Yea, it is thereby that they ſhift and ſhuffle in the world and abuſe it; for how few are there among them, which, having aſſumed and ſworn to pay the monies and other things they borrow, do not break their word and promiſe as often as they engage it? Nay, how few are there among them that are not liars by record, by being ſued in ſome court or other of juſtice, upon breach of word or bond? For he which hath promiſed that he will pay money by a day, or promiſed anything elſe wherein he faileth, hath directly lied to him to whom the promiſe hath been made. Nay, what is the profeſſion of love that men make nowadays? What is the

vowing of their ſervice and of all they have, uſed in their ordinary compliments and in effect to every man whom they bid but good-morrow or ſalute, other than a courteous and court-like kind of lying? It is, ſaith a wiſe Frenchman (deriding therein the awful cuſtom of his country), *un marché et complot fait enſemble ſe mocquer, mentir et piper les uns les autres*, 'a kind of merchandiſe and complot made among them, to revile, belie, and deride each other,' and ſo far nowadays in faſhion and in uſe, as he that uſeth it not is accounted either dull or cynical. True it is, notwithſtanding (omitting the old diſtinctions) that there is great difference between theſe mannerly and complimental lies, with thoſe which are ſometimes perſuaded by neceſſity upon breach of promiſe and thoſe which men uſe out of cowardice and fear, the latter confeſſing themſelves to be in greater awe of man than of God, a vice of all others ſtyled the moſt villainous. But now for 'the lie' itſelf, as it is made the ſubject of all our deadly quarrels in effect; to it I ſay that whoſo gives another man the lie, when it is manifeſt

that he hath lied, doth him no wrong at all, neither ought it to be more heinouſly taken than to tell him that he hath broken any promiſe which he hath otherwiſe made ; for he that promiſeth anything tells him to whom he hath promiſed that he will perform it, and in not performing it he hath made himſelf a liar. On the other ſide, he that gives any man the lie, when himſelf knows that he to whom it is given hath not lied, doth therein give the lie directly to himſelf. And what cauſe have I if I ſay that the ſun ſhines when it doth ſhine, and that another fellow tells me I lie for it is midnight, to proſecute ſuch an one to death for making himſelf a fooliſh ruffian and a liar in his own knowledge ? For he that gives 'the lie' in any other diſpute than in defence of his loyalty or life, gives it impertinently and ruffian-like. I will not deny but it is an extreme rudeneſs to tax [=accuſe] any man in public with an untruth (if it be not pernicious and to his prejudice againſt whom the untruth is uttered), but all that is rude ought not to be civilized with death. That were more to admire and imitate a French cuſtom

and a wicked one, than to admire and to follow the counſel of God. (H. W., B. v., c. iii.)

Is it cowardice to refuſe the duel?

But you will ſay theſe diſcourſes [againſt duelling] ſavour of cowardice. It is true if you call it cowardice to fear God or hell, whereas he that is truly wiſe and truly valiant knows that there is nothing elſe to be feared. For againſt an enemy's ſword we ſhall find ten thouſand ſeven-penny men (waged at that price in the wars), that fear it as little, and perchance leſs, than any profeſſed ſwordman in the world: *diligentiſſima in tutela ſui fortitudo*, 'fortitude is a diligent preſerver of itſelf.' 'It is,' ſaith Ariſtotle, 'a mediocrity between doubting and daring.' *Sicut non martyrem pœna; ſic nec fortem pugna, ſed cauſa:* 'as it is not the puniſhment that makes the martyr, ſo it is not the fighting that declares a valiant man; but fighting in a good cauſe.' In which whoſoever ſhall reſolvedly end his life, reſolvedly in reſpect of the cauſe, to wit, in defence

of his prince, religion, or country, as he may juſtly be numbered among the martyrs of God, ſo may thoſe that die with malicious hearts, in private combats, be called the martyrs of the devil. Neither do we, indeed, take our own revenge, or puniſh the injuries offered us, by the death of the injurious. For the true conqueſt of revenge is to give him of whom we would be revenged cauſe to repent him, and not to lay the repentance of another man's death on our own conſciences, *animaſque in vulnere ponere*, 'and to drown our ſouls in the wounds and blood of our enemies.' Therefore you will again aſk me if I condemn in generous and noble ſpirits the defence of their honours, being preſſed with injuries? I ſay that I do not if the injuries be violent; for the law of nature, which is a branch of the eternal law, and the laws of all Chriſtian kings and ſtates, do favour him that is aſſailed in the ſlaughter of his aſſailant. You will ſecondly aſk me whether a nobleman or a gentleman, being challenged by cartel by one of like quality, be not bound in point of honour to ſatisfy the challenge in private combat? I anſwer

that he is not; becauſe (omitting the greateſt, which is the point of honour) the point of the law is directly contrary and oppoſite to that which they call the point of honour; the law which hath dominion over it, which can judge it, which can deſtroy it; except you will ſtyle thoſe acts honourable where the hangman gives the garland, after ſeeing the laws of this land have appointed the hangman to ſecond the conqueror and the laws of God appointed the devil to ſecond the conquered, dying in malice; I ſay that he is both baſe and a fool that accepts of any cartel ſo accompanied. To this, perchance, it will be anſwered, that the kings of England and other Chriſtian kings have ſeldom taken any ſuch advantage over men of quality, but upon even terms have ſlain their private enemies. It is true that, as in times of trouble and combuſtion, they have not often done it, ſo did our noblemen and gentlemen in former ages, in all important injuries, ſue unto the king to approve themſelves by battle and public combat. For as they dared not to brave the law ſo did they diſdain to ſubmit themſelves to the ſhameful revenge

thereof, the ſame revenge (becauſe it deteſteth murder) that it hath declared againſt a common cutpurſe or other thieves. Nay, let it be granted that a pardon be procured for ſuch offenders, yet is not the manſlayer freed by his pardon. For theſe two remedies hath the party grieved notwithſtanding, that is to require juſtice by Grand Aſſize or by battle, upon his appeal, which ſuit, ſaith Sir Thomas Smith ('Commonwealth of England') is not denied; and he further ſaith (for I uſe his own words) 'that if the defendant (to wit, the manſlayer) be convinced [=convicted], either by Great Aſſize or by battle, upon that appeal the manſlayer ſhall die, notwithſtanding the prince's pardon.' So favourable, ſaith the ſame learned gentleman, are 'our prince and the law of our realm to juſtice and to the puniſhment of blood violently ſhed.' It may further be demanded how our noblemen and gentlemen ſhall be reputed in honour where an enemy taking the ſtart, either in words or blows, ſhall lay on them an infamy inſufferable? I ſay that a marſhall's court will eaſily give ſatisfaction in both. (H. W., B. v., c. iii.)

EASTERN POSITION.

Now becauſe Paradiſe was reached by Moſes towards the Eaſt, thence came the cuſtom of praying towards the Eaſt, and not by inſtitution of the Chaldeans; and therefore all our churches are built Eaſt and Weſt, as to the point where the ſun riſeth in March, which is directly over Paradiſe, ſaith Damaſcenus, affirming that we always pray towards the Eaſt as looking towards Paradiſe, whence we were caſt out; and yet the temple of Solomon had their prieſts and ſcribes which turned themſelves in their ſervice and divine ceremonies always towards the Weſt, thereby to avoid the ſuperſtition of the Egyptians and Chaldeans. But becauſe Eaſt and Weſt are but in reſpect of places (for although Paradiſe was Eaſt from Judea, yet it was Weſt from Perſia), and the ſerving of God is everywhere in the world, the matter is not great which way we turn our faces, ſo our hearts ſtand right, other than this that we all dwell Weſt from Paradiſe, and pray, turning ourſelves to the Eaſt, may remember thereby to beſeech God that as by Adam's fall we have loſt the Paradiſe

on earth, ſo by Chriſt's death and paſſion we may be made partakers of the Paradiſe Celeſtial and the Kingdom of Heaven. (H. W., B. i., c. iii.)

EPITAPHS.

Epitaph on the Earl of Saliſbury, died May 24, 1612.

Here lies Hobbinol, our paſtor whilere,
That once in a quarter our fleeces did ſhear ;
To fleece us his cur he kept under clog,
And was ever after both ſhepherd and dog.
For oblation to Pan his cuſtom was thus :
He firſt gave a trifle, then offered up us ;
And through his falſe worſhip ſuch fines he did gain,
As kept him o' th' mountain and us on the plain ;
Where many a hornpipe he tuned to his Phyllis,
And ſweetly ſang Walſingham to's Amaryllis.*

* See our Introduction.

Epitaph on the Earl of Leiceſter, died September 4, 1588.

Here lies the noble warrior that never
blunted ſword;
Here lies the noble courtier that never
kept his word;
Here lies his excellency that govern'd
all the State;
Here lies the Lord of Leiceſter that all
the world did hate.

PORTRAITS OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

I could ſay much more of the king's majeſty [James I.] without flattery, did I not fear the imputation of preſumption, and withal ſuſpect, that it might befall theſe papers of mine (though the loſs were little) as it did the pictures of Queen Elizabeth, made by unſkilful and common painters; which, by her own commandment, were knocked in pieces, and caſt into the fire. For ill artiſts, in ſetting out the beauty of the external, and weak writers, in deſcribing the virtues

of the internal, do often leave to poſterity, of well-formed faces a deformed memory, and of the moſt perfect and princely minds a moſt defective repreſentation. (Preface, H. W.)

EQUIVOCATION.

If it be permitted, by the help of a ridiculous diſtinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to ſwear one thing by the name of the living God and to reſerve in ſilence a contrary intent; the life of men, the eſtates of men, the faith of ſubjects to kings, of ſervants to their maſters, of vaſſals to their lords, of wives to their huſbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torn aſunder. It is by oath, when kings and armies cannot paſs, that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end which weapons cannot end. And what is or ought it to be, that makes an oath

thus powerful but this, that he that ſweareth by the name of God doth aſſure others that his words are true as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witneſs and in whoſe preſence he that taketh the oath hath promiſed? I am not ignorant of theſe poor evaſions, which play with the ſeverity of God's commandments in this land; but this indeed is the beſt anſwer, that he breaks no faith that hath none to break, for whoſoever hath faith and the fear of God dare not do it. (H. W.)

THE EARL OF ESSEX, 1600.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir,—I am not wiſe enough to give you advice, but if you take it for a good counſel to relent towards this tyrant, you will repent it when it ſhall be too late. His malice is fixed and will not evaporate by any your mild courſes. For he will aſcribe the alteration to her Majeſty's puſillanimity and not to your good nature, knowing that you work but upon her humour and not out of any

love to him. The leſs you make him, the leſs he ſhall be able to harm you and yours. And if her Majeſty's favour fail him, he will again decline to a common perſon.

For after-revenges, fear them not; for your own father that was eſteemed to be the contriver of Norfolk's ruin, yet his ſon followeth your father's ſon and loveth him. Humours of men ſucceed not [=not inherited], but grow by occaſions and accidents of time and power. Somerſet made no revenge on the Duke of Northumberland's heirs. Northumberland that now is thinks not of Hatton's iſſue. Kellaway lives that murdered the brother of Horſey, and Horſey let him go bye all his lifetime.

I could name you a thouſand of thoſe; and therefore after-fears are but propheſies, or rather conjectures, for cauſes remote. Look to the preſent and you do wiſely. His ſon ſhall be the youngeſt Earl of England but one, and if his father be now kept down William Cecil ſhall be able to keep as many men at his heels as he, and more, too. He may alſo match in a better houſe than his; and ſo their fear is not

worth the fearing. But if the father continue, he will be able to break the branches and pull up the tree, root and all. Loſe not your advantage; if you do I read your deſtiny. Yours to the end, W. RALEGH.

Let the Queen hold Bothwell while ſhe hath him. He will ever be the canker of her eſtate and ſafety. Princes are loſt by ſecurity, and preſerved by prevention. I have ſeen the laſt of her good days and all ours after his liberty. ('Letters,' pp. 222, 223; ſee Edwards, vol. i., pp. 258, 259; vol. ii., pp. 213-221; and our Introduction.)

FAME.

To theſe undertakings the greateſt lords of the world have been ſtirred up rather by the deſire of fame, which plougheth up the air and ſoweth in the wind, than by the affection of bearing rule, which draweth after it ſo much vexation and ſo many cares. And that this is true the good advice of Cineas to

turns forgotten, all my errors revived and expounded to all extremity of ill. All my ſervices, hazards and expenſes for my country — plantings, diſcoveries, fights, counſels, and whatſoever elſe— malice hath covered over. I am now made an enemy and traitor by the word of an unworthy man. He hath proclaimed me to be a partaker of his vain imaginations, notwithſtanding the whole courſe of my life hath approved the contrary, as my death ſhall approve it. Woe, woe, woe be unto him by whoſe falſehood we are loſt! He hath ſeparated us aſunder. He hath ſlain my honour, my fortune. He hath robbed thee of thy huſband, thy child of his father, and me of you both. O God! thou doſt know my wrongs. Know, then, thou my wife and child; know, then, thou my lord and king, that I ever thought them too honeſt to betray and too good to conſpire againſt.

But, my wife, forgive them all, as I do. Live humble, for thou haſt but a time alſo. God forgive my Lord Harry [Howard], for he was my heavy enemy. And for my Lord Cecil, I thought he would never forſake me in extremity.

I would not have done it him, God knows. But do not thou know it, for he muſt be maſter of thy child [as Maſter of the Court of Wards], and may have compaſſion of him. Be not diſmayed that I died in deſpair of God's mercies. Strive not to diſpute it. But aſſure thyſelf that God hath not left me nor Satan tempted me. Hope and Deſpair live not together. I know it is forbidden to deſtroy ourſelves, but I truſt it is forbidden in this ſort, that we deſtroy not ourſelves deſpairing of God's mercy. The mercy of God is immeaſurable; the cogitations of men comprehend it not.

In the Lord I have ever truſted; and I know that my Redeemer liveth. Far is it from me to be tempted unto Satan; I am only tempted unto Sorrow, whoſe ſharp teeth devour my heart. O God! Thou art goodneſs itſelf! Thou canſt not but be good to me! O God! Thou art mercy itſelf! Thou canſt not but be merciful to me!

For my eſtate, it is conveyed to feoffees, to your couſin Brett and others. I leave but a bare eſtate for a ſhort life. My plate is at gage in Lombard Street:

my debts are many. To Peter Vanlove I owe £600. To Antrobus as much, but Compton is to pay £300 of it. To Michael Hickes £100. To George Carew £100. To Nicholas Sanderſon £100. To John Fitzjames £100. To Maſter Waddon £100. To a poor man, one Hawkes, for horſes £70. To a poor man called Hunt £20. Take firſt care of thoſe, for God's ſake. To a brewer at Weymouth, and a baker for Lord Cecil's ſhip and mine, I think £80. John Reynolds knoweth it. And let that poor man have his true part of my return from Virginia. And let the poor men's wages be paid with the goods, for the Lord's ſake. Oh, what will my poor ſervants think at their return, when they hear I am accuſed to be Spaniſh, who ſent them, at my great charge, to plant and diſcover upon his territory!

Oh, intolerable infamy! O God! I cannot reſiſt theſe thoughts. I cannot live to think how I am derided, to think of the expectation of my enemies, the ſcorns I ſhall receive, the cruel words of lawyers, the infamous taunts and deſpites, to be made a wonder and a ſpectacle! O Death! haſten thou unto me, that

thou mayeſt deſtroy the memory of theſe and lay me up in dark forgetfulneſs. O Death! deſtroy my memory, which is my tormentor; my thoughts and my life cannot dwell in one body. But do thou forget me, poor wife, that thou mayeſt live to bring up my poor child.

I recommend unto you my poor brother Adrian Gilbert. The leaſe of Sandridge is his, and none of mine. Let him have it, for God's cauſe. He knows what is due to me upon it. And be good to Kemiſh, for he is a perfect honeſt man and hath much wrong for my ſake. For the reſt, I commend me to them and them to God. And the Lord knows my ſorrow to part from thee and my poor child. But part I muſt, by enemies and injuries; part with ſhame and triumph of my detractors. And therefore be contented with this work of God, and forget me in all things but thine own honour and the love of mine.

I bleſs my poor child, and let him know his father was no traitor. Be bold of my innocence; for God, to Whom I offer life and ſoul, knows it. And whoſoever thou chooſe again after

me, let him be but thy politique huſband. But let my ſon be thy beloved; for he is part of me, and I live in him; and the difference is but in the number and not in the kind. And the Lord for ever keep thee and them, and give thee comfort in both worlds. (Without ſignature or addreſs. 'Letters,' pp. 383-387. See our Introduction.)

X

Letter of Farewell and Conſolation to Lady Ralegh, on the eve of his expected execution, December, 1603.

You ſhall receive, dear wife, my laſt words in theſe my laſt lines. My love I ſend you that you may keep it when I am dead, and my counſel that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, with my laſt will, preſent you with ſorrows, dear Beſs. Let them go to the grave with me and be buried in the duſt. And ſeeing it is not the will of God that ever I ſhall ſee you in this life, bear my deſtruction gently and with a heart like yourſelf.

Firſt, I ſend you all the thanks my

: may conceive or my pen expreſs,
·our many troubles and cares taken
ne, which—though they have not
ı effect as you wiſhed—yet my
is to you never the leſs; but pay it
/er ſhall in this world.
condly, I beſeech you, for the love
ɔore me living, that you do not hide
ſelf many days, but by your travel
to help your miſerable fortunes
the right of your poor children.
mourning cannot avail me that am
luſt.
ɔu ſhall underſtand that my lands
conveyed to my child *bonâ-fide*.
writings were drawn at Midſummer
:welve months, as divers can witneſs.
honeſt couſin Brett can teſtify ſo
ı, and Dalberie, too, can remember
what therein. And I truſt my blood
quench their malice that deſire my
hter; and that they will not alſo
to kill you and yours with extreme
rty. To what friend to direct
I know not, for all mine have left
in the true time of trial; and I
ly perceive that my death was
·mined from the firſt day. Moſt
· I am (as God knoweth) that

being thus ſurpriſed with death, I can leave you no better eſtate. I meant you all mine office of wines or that I could purchaſe by ſelling it; half my ſtuff and jewels, but ſome few for my boy. But God hath prevented all my determinations: the great God that worketh all in all. If you can live free from want, care for no more; for the reſt is but vanity. Love God and begin betimes to repoſe yourſelf on Him; therein ſhall you find true and laſting riches and endleſs comfort. For the reſt, when you have travailed and wearied your thoughts on all ſorts of worldly cogitations, you ſhall ſit down by ſorrow in the end. Teach your ſon alſo to ſerve and fear God while he is young, that the fear of God may grow up in him. Then will God be a huſband unto you and a father unto him; a huſband and a father which can never be taken from you.

Bayley oweth me £200 and Adrian £600. In Jerſey alſo I have much owing me. The arrears of the wines will pay my debts. And, howſoever, for my ſoul's health, I beſeech you pay all poor men. When I am gone no doubt

you ſhall be ſought unto by many, for the world thinks that I am very rich; but take heed of the pretences of men and of their affections, for they laſt but in honeſt and worthy men. And no greater miſery can befall you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be deſpiſed. I ſpeak it (God knows) not to diſſuade you from marriage—for that will be beſt for you—both in reſpect of God and the world. As for me, I am no more yours nor you mine. Death hath cut us aſunder, and God hath divided me from the world and you from me.

Remember your poor child for his father's ſake, that comforted you and loved you in his happieſt times.

Get thoſe letters (if it be poſſible) which I writ to the Lords, wherein I ſued for my life; but God knoweth that it was for you and yours that I deſired it; but it is true that I diſdain myſelf for begging it. And know it (dear wife) that your ſon is the child of a true man, and who, in his own reſpect, deſpiſeth Death and all his miſſhapen and ugly forms.

I cannot write much. God knows

how hardly I ſtole this time when all ſleep; and it is time to ſeparate my thoughts from the world. Beg my dead body, which living was denied you; and either lay it at Sherburne, if the land continue, or in Exeter Church by my father and mother. I can write no more. Time and Death call me away.

The everlaſting, infinite, powerful and inſcrutable God, that Almighty God that is goodneſs itſelf, mercy itſelf, the true life and light, keep you and yours, and have mercy on me and teach me to forgive my perſecutors and falſe accuſers; and ſend us to meet in His glorious kingdom. My true wife farewell. Bleſs my poor boy; pray for me. My true God hold you both in His arms. Written with the dying hand of, ſometime thy huſband, but now (alas!) overthrown, yours that was but now not my own, W. RALEGH. ('Letters,' pp. 284-287. See our Introduction.)

FATE AND FREE WILL.

Influence of the ſtars.

Certainly it cannot be doubted but the Stars are inſtruments of far greater uſe than to give an obſcure light, and for man to gaze on after ſunſet; it being manifeſt that the diverſity of ſeaſons, the Winters and Summers, more hot and cold, are not ſo uncertained by the ſun and moon alone, who always keep one and the ſame courſe, but that the ſtars have alſo their work therein. And if we cannot deny but that God hath given virtues to ſprings and fountains, to cold earth to plants and ſtones and minerals, why ſhould we rob the beautiful ſtars of their working powers? For ſeeing they are many in number, and of eminent beauty and magnitude, we may not think that in the treaſury of His wiſdom which is infinite, there can be wanting (even for every ſtar) a peculiar virtue and operation; as every herb, plant, fruit, and flower adorning the face of the earth hath the like. For as theſe were not created to beautify the earth alone, and to cover and ſhadow her

dusty face, but otherwise for the use of man and beast, to feed them and cure them; so were not these uncountable glorious bodies set in the firmament, to no other end than to adorn it, but for instruments and organs of His Divine Providence, so far as it hath pleased His just will to determine. (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Fate.

As of Nature such is the dispute and contention concerning Fate or Destiny; of which the opinion of those learned men that have written thereof may be safely received, had they not thereunto annexed and fastened an inevitable necessity and made it more general and universally powerful than it is, by giving it dominion over the mind of man and over his will, of which Ovid and Juvenal:

Ratio fatum vincere nulla valet.
Servis regna dabunt, captivis fata triumphos.
'Gainst Fate no counsel can prevail:
Kingdoms to slaves by Destiny,
To captives triumphs given be.
[Ovid's Tristia, iii. vi. 18; Juvenal, vii. 201.]

An error of the Chaldeans, and after them of the Stoics, the Phariſees, Pricillianiſts, the Bardiſaniſts, and others, as Baſil, Auguſtine, and Thomas have ſhowed, but that Fate is an obedience of ſecond cauſes to the firſt was well conceived of Hermes and Apuleius, the Platoniſt. . . . But in this queſtion of Fate the middle courſe is to be followed; that as with the heathen we do not bind God to His creatures in this ſuppoſed neceſſity of deſtiny; ſo, on the contrary, we do not rob thoſe beautiful creatures of their powers and offices [*i.e.*, the ſtars]. For had any of theſe ſecond cauſes deſpoiled God of His prerogative, or had God Himſelf conſtrained the mind and will of man to impious acts by any celeſtial enforcements, then ſure the impious excuſe of ſome were juſtifiable of whom St. Auguſtine: 'Where we reprehend them of evil deeds, they again with wicked perverſeneſs urge that rather the author and creator of the ſtars than the doer of the evil, is to be accuſed' (20 ſupr. Gen. ad lit.). (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Aſtrology.

But there is nothing (after God's reſerved power) that ſo much ſetteth this art of influence out of ſquare and rule as education doth, for there are none in the world ſo wickedly inclined but that a religious inſtruction and bringing up may faſhion anew and reform them; nor any ſo well-diſpoſed whom (the reins being let looſe) the continual fellowſhip and familiarity and the examples of diſſolute men, may not corrupt and deform. Veſſels will ever retain a ſavour of their firſt liquor; it being equally difficult either to cleanſe the mind once corrupted or to extinguiſh the ſweet ſavours of virtue firſt received, when the mind was yet tender, open and eaſily ſeaſoned; but where a favourable conſtellation (allowing that the ſtars incline the will) and a virtuous education do happily arrive, or the contrary in both, thereby it is that men are found ſo exceeding virtuous or vicious, heaven and earth (as it were) running together and agreeing in one; for as the ſeeds of virtue may, by the art and huſbandry of Chriſtian counſel, produce

id more beautiful fruit than the of self-nature and kind could lded them; so the plants, apt wild and to change themselves ds, by being set in a soil suitable themselves, are made more un- and filled with poison. It was, , truly affirmed: 'A wise man the work of the stars, as the nan helpeth the nature of the And Ptolemy confesseth thus 'A wise man, and the ominous wise physician, shall prevail he stars.' Lastly, we ought all that God created the stars as the rest of the universe, whose es may be called His reserved written laws. . . . But let us how they bind. . . . It were pious to take that power and from God Himself which His es [kings] enjoy. . . . God only knoweth the operation of n creatures truly) hath assured here is no inclination or tempta- forcible which our humble and desires may not make and break asunder; for were it Stoics conceive) that Fate or

Deſtiny, though depending upon eternal power, yet being once ordered and diſpoſed, had ſuch a connection and immutable dependency, that God Himſelf ſhould in a kind have ſhut up Himſelf therein, 'How miſerable then were the condition of men,' ſaith St. Auguſtine, 'left altogether without hope!' And if this ſtrength of the ſtars were so tranſferred as that God had quitted unto them all dominion over His creatures; be he Pagan or Chriſtian that ſo believeth, the only true God of the one and the imaginary God of the other, would thereby be deſpoiled of all worſhip, reverence, or reſpect. And certainly God which hath promiſed us the reward of well-doing, which Chriſt Himſelf claimed at the hands of the Father ('I have finiſhed the work which Thou gaveſt Me to do') [St. John xviii. 4], and the ſame God who hath threatened unto us the ſorrow and torment of offences, could not, contrary to His merciful nature, be ſo unjuſt as to bind us inevitably to the deſtinies or influences of the ſtars, or ſubject our ſouls to any impoſed neceſſity. But it was well ſaid of Plotinus, that the ſtars were

icant but not efficient, giving them omething leſs than their due; and fore as I do not conſent with thoſe would make thoſe glorious creatures od virtueleſs, ſo I think that we ate from His eternal and abſolute r and providence, to aſcribe to the ſame dominion over our im- al ſouls, which they have over all y ſubſtances and periſhable matters; ie ſouls of men loving and fearing receive influence from that Divine itſelf, whereof the ſun's clarity and of the ſtars is by Plato called but a w : 'Light is the ſhadow of God's tneſs, who is the light of lights' 6, Ficinus in l. 7, pol.). (H. W., c. i.)

GEOGRAPHY.

ictions of Maps—a 'Pretty Jeſt.'

ie fictions, or let them be called ctures, painted on maps, do ſerve to miſlead ſuch diſcoverers as raſhly ve them, drawing upon the pub- s either ſome angry curſes or well-

deſerved ſcorn; but to keep their own credit, they cannot ſerve always. To which purpoſe I remember a pretty jeſt of Don Pedro de Sarmiento, a worthy Spaniſh gentleman who had been employed by his king in planting a colony upon the Straits of Magellan: for when I aſked him, being then my priſoner, ſome queſtions about an iſland in thoſe ſtraits, which methought might have done either benefit or diſpleaſure to his enterpriſe, he told me merrily, that it was to be called the Painter's Wife's Iſland; ſaying that whilſt the fellow drew this map, his wife ſitting by deſired him to put in one country for her, that ſhe in imagination might have an iſland of her own. But in filling up the blanks of old hiſtories, we need not to be ſo ſcrupulous. For it is not to be feared that Time ſhould run backward and by reſtoring the things themſelves to knowledge, make our conjectures appear ridiculous. What if ſome good copy of an ancient author could be found, ſhowing (if we have it not already) the perfect truth of theſe uncertainties? Would it be more ſhame to have believed in the meanwhile Annius or Terniellus

have believed nothing? (H. W., :. xxiii.)

GREAT MEN.

:everend Reſpect for Great Men.

you will ſay that there are ſome elſe, and of greater regard than ng of riches . . . as the reverend that is held of great men and nour done unto them by all ſort ›le. And it is true indeed, pro- that an inward love for their and piety accompany the outward › given to their places and power; t which what is the applauſe of ltitude, but as the outcry of an animals, who, without the know- ›f any true cauſe, pleaſe them- vith the noiſe they make? For it is a thing exceeding rare to ıiſh virtue and fortune, the moſt s, if proſperous, have ever been led; the moſt virtuous, if un- ·ous, have ever been deſpiſed. Fortune's man rides the horſe, ſo e herſelf rides the man; who,

when he is deſcended and on foot, the man taken from his beaſt and fortune from the man, a baſe groom beats the one and a bitter contempt ſpurns the other with equal liberty. (Preface, H. W.)

GOD—CREATION—PROVIDENCE.

Creation and Providence.

The examples of Divine Providence everywhere found (the firſt Divine hiſtories being nothing elſe but a continuation of ſuch examples) have perſuaded me to fetch my beginning from the beginning of all things, to wit, Creation. For though theſe two glorious actions of the Almighty be ſo near—as it were, linked together—that the one neceſſarily completes the other, Creation inferring Providence (for what father forſaketh the child that he hath begotten?), and Providence preſuppoſing Creation; yet many of thoſe that have ſeemed to excel in worldly wiſdom have gone about to disjoin the co-

herence: the Epicure [=Epicurean] denying both Creation and Providence, but granting that the world had a beginning; the Ariſtotelian granting Providence, but denying both the Creation and the beginning. (*Ibid.*)

By Faith Creation is Underſtood.

Now, although this doctrine of FAITH touching the Creation in time (for 'by *faith* we underſtand that the world was made by the Word of God' [Hebrews xi. 3]) be too weighty a work for Ariſtotle's rotten ground to bear up, upon which he hath notwithſtanding founded the defences and fortreſſes of all his verbal doctrine; yet that the neceſſity of infinite power and the world's beginning, and the impoſſibility of the contrary even in the judgment of natural reaſon wherein he believed, had not better informed him, it is greatly to be marvelled at. And it is no leſs ſtrange that thoſe men which are deſirous of knowledge (ſeeing Ariſtotle hath failed in this main point, and

taught little other than terms in the reſt) have ſo retrenched their minds from the following and overtaking of truth, and ſo abſolutely ſubjected themſelves to the law of thoſe philoſophical principles, as all contrary kind of teaching in the ſearch of cauſes they have condemned either for fantaſtical or curious. But doth it follow that the poſitions of heathen philoſophers are undoubted grounds and principles indeed becauſe ſo called? or that, *ipſi dixerunt*, doth make them to be ſuch? Certainly no. But this is true, that where natural reaſon hath built anything ſo ſtrong againſt itſelf, as the ſame reaſon can hardly aſſail it, much leſs batter it down; the ſame in every queſtion of Nature and finite power may be approved for a fundamental law of human knowledge. For ſaith Charron in his Book of Wiſdom, *Toute propoſition humaine a autant d'authorité que l'autre, ſi la raiſon n'on fait la difference*, 'Every human propoſition hath equal authority, if reaſon make not the difference,' the reſt being but the fables of principles. But hereof how ſhall the upright and impartial judgment of

: a ſentence where oppoſition
nination are not admitted to
vidence? And to this purpoſe
:ll ſaid of Lactantius (De Orig.
l. 2, c. viii.): 'They neglect
n wiſdom who, without any
:, approve the invention of
it forewent them, and ſuffer
:s, after the manner of beaſts,
l by them.' By the advantage
floth and dulneſs, ignorance
ecome ſo powerful a tyrant as
et true philoſophy, phyſic, and
n a pillory, and written over
Contra negantem principia; over
d, *Virtus ſpecifica;* and over the
:leſia Romana. (*Ibid.*)

otle on Creation condemned.

)r myſelf, I ſhall never be per-
iat God hath ſhut up all light
ng within the lantern of Ariſ-
ains, or that it was ever ſaid
1 as unto Eſdras, *Accendam in*
lucernam intellectus; that God
n invention but to the heathen,

and that they only have invaded Nature, and found the ſtrength and bottom thereof; the ſame Nature having conſumed all her ſtore, and left nothing of price to after-ages. That theſe and thoſe be the cauſes of theſe and thoſe effects, time hath taught us, and not reaſon; and ſo hath experience without art. The cheeſe-wife knoweth it as well as the philoſopher, that ſour rennet doth coagulate her milk into a curd. But if we aſk a reaſon of this cauſe, why the ſourneſs doth it? whereby it doth it? and the manner how? I think that there is nothing to be found in vulgar philoſophy to ſatisfy this and many other like vulgar queſtions. But man, to cover his ignorance in the leaſt things, who cannot give a true reaſon for the graſs under his feet why it ſhould be green rather than red or of any other colour; that could never yet diſcover the way and reaſon of Nature's working in thoſe which are far leſs noble creatures than himſelf, who is far more noble than the heavens themſelves; 'Man,' ſaith Solomon, 'that can hardly diſcern the things that are upon the earth, and with great labour

find out the things that are before us' (i. 9); that hath ſo ſhort a time in the world, as he no ſooner begins to learn than to die; that hath in his memory but borrowed knowledge; in his underſtanding nothing truly; that is ignorant of the eſſence of his own ſoul, and which the wiſeſt of the Naturaliſts (if Ariſtotle be he) could never ſo much as define but by the action and effect, telling us what it works (which all men know as well as he), but not what it is, which neither he nor any elſe doth know but God that created it ('For though I were perfect, yet I know not my ſoul,' ſaith Job [ix. 21]); man, I ſay, that is but an idiot in the next cauſe of his own life, and in the cauſe of all the actions of his life, will, notwithſtanding, examine the art of God in creating the world; of God 'Who,' ſaith Job, 'is ſo excellent as we know Him not' (xxxvii. 23); and examine the beginning of being. (*Ibid.*)

Secondary Cauſes.

Man will diſable God's power to make a world without matter to make it of. He will rather give the motes of the air for a cauſe; caſt the work on neceſſity or chance; beſtow the honour thereof on Nature; make two powers, the one to be the author of the matter, the other of the form; and laſtly, for want of a workman, have it eternal; which latter opinion Ariſtotle, to make himſelf the author of a new doctrine, brought into the world, and his ſectators have maintained it. (*Ibid.*)

God by Neceſſity of Invincible Reaſon.

Parati ac conjurati quos ſequuntur, philoſophorum animus invictis opiniones tueri. For Hermes, who lived at once with or ſoon after Moſes, Zoroaſter, Muſæus, Orpheus, Linus, Anaximines, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Meliſſus, Pherecydes, Thales, Cleanthes, Pythagoras, Plato, and many others (whoſe opinions are exquiſitely gathered by Steuchius Eugu-

binus), found, in the neceſſity of invincible reaſon, One eternal and infinite Being to be the parent of the univerſal. 'All theſe men's opinions,' ſaith Lactantius (5), 'though uncertain, come to this, that they agree upon one Providence; whether the ſame be Nature, or light, or reaſon, or underſtanding, or deſtiny, or Divine ordinance, that it is the ſame which we call God.' Certainly, as all the rivers in the world, though they have divers riſings and divers runnings; though they ſometimes hide themſelves for a while under ground, and ſeem to be loſt in ſea-like lakes, do at laſt find and fall into the great ocean, ſo, after all the ſearches that human capacity hath, and after all philoſophical contemplation and curioſity, in the neceſſity of this Infinite Power all the reaſon of man ends and diſſolves itſelf. (*Ibid.*)

Out of Nothing Nothing: Sufficient Cauſe Sufficient Effect.

Now for thoſe who from that ground 'That out of nothing nothing is made,'

infer the world's eternity ; and yet not ſo ſavage [=heathen] therein as thoſe are which give an eternal being to dead matter ; it is true, if the word 'nothing' be taken in the affirmative, and the making impoſed upon natural agents and finite power, that out of nothing nothing is made. But ſeeing their great doctor, Ariſtotle himſelf, confeſſeth 'That all the ancients decree a kind of beginning, and the ſame to be infinite,' and a little after, more largely and plainly (Steuc. Eug., l. 3, c. 9., and Ariſt. Phys., iii., 20), it is ſtrange that this philoſopher, with his followers, ſhould rather make choice out of falſehood to conclude falſely, than out of truth to reſolve truly. For if we compare the world univerſal and all the immeaſurable orbs of heaven and thoſe marvellous bodies of the ſun, moon and ſtars, with *ipſum infinitum*, it may truly be ſaid of them all, which himſelf affirmeth of his imagining *materia prima*, that they are neither *quid*, *quale*, nor *quantum ;* and, therefore, to bring finite (which hath no proportion with infinite) out of infinite (*qui deſtruit omnem proportionem*) is no work in God's power. And, there-

fore, Anaximander, Meliſſus and Empedocles call the world univerſal; but *particulam univerſitatis et infinitatis*, 'a parcel of that which is the univerſality and the infinity itſelf'; and Plato, but 'a ſhadow of God.' But the other, to prove the world's eternity, urgeth this maxim, that 'a ſufficient and effectual cauſe being granted an anſwerable effect thereof is alſo granted'; inferring that God being for ever a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the world, the effect of the cauſe ſhould alſo have been for ever, to wit the world univerſal. But what a ſtrange mockery is this in ſo great a maſter, to confeſs a ſufficient and effectual cauſe of the world (to wit, an Almighty God) in His antecedent and the ſame God to be a God reſtrained in His concluſion; to make God free in power and bound in will; able to effect, unable to determine; able to make all things, and yet unable to make choice of the time when; for this were impiouſly to reſolve of God as of natural neceſſity, which hath neither choice nor will, nor underſtanding; which cannot but work, matter being preſent, as fire, to burn things combuſtible. (*Ibid.*)

The Pattern of Creation Eternal.

To this anſwer (as before) in itſelf ſufficient, others add further, that the pattern or image of the world may be ſaid to be eternal, which the Platonicks call *ſpiritualem mundum*, and do in this ſort diſtinguiſh the idea and creation in time, 'That repreſentative or the intentional world,' ſay they, 'the ſampler of the viſible world, the firſt work of God, was equally ancient with the architect; for it was for ever with Him, and ever ſhall be. This material world, the ſecond work or creature of God, doth differ from the worker in this, that it was not from everlaſting; and in this it doth agree, that it ſhall be for ever to come.' The firſt point, That it was not for ever, all Chriſtians confeſs: the other they underſtand no otherwiſe than that after the conſummation of this world, there ſhall be 'a new heaven and a new earth' without any new creation of matter. But of theſe things we need not here ſtand to argue, though ſuch opinions be not unworthy the propounding; in this conſideration of an eternal

unchangeable Cause producing a changeable and temporal effect. (*Ibid.*)

Creation without Ending.

But to return to them which, denying that ever the world had any beginning, withal deny that ever it ſhall have any end; and to this purpoſe affirm that it was never heard, never read, never ſeen, nor not by any reaſon perceived, that the heavens have ſuffered corruption; or that they appear any way the elder by continuance, or in any ſort otherwiſe than they were; which, had they been ſubject to final corruption, ſome change would have been diſcerned in ſo long a time; to this it is anſwered, that the little change as yet perceived doth rather prove their newneſs, and that they have not continued ſo long, than that they will continue for ever as they are. And if conjectural arguments may receive anſwer by conjectures, it then ſeemeth that ſome alteration may be found. For either Ariſtotle (Met. 2), Pliny (l. 2, c. 8), Strabo (l. 3), Beda

(De ratione tem. ii., c. 32), Aquinas (i. p. q. 102, art. 2), and others, were groſſly miſtaken; or elſe thoſe parts of the world lying within the burnt zone were not in olden times habitable, by reaſon of the ſun's heat; neither were the ſeas under the equinoctial navigable. But we know by experience that thoſe regions ſo ſituate are filled with people and exceeding temperate; and the ſea over which we navigate, paſſable enough. We read alſo many hiſtories of deluges, and how that in the time of Phaeton divers places in the world were burnt up by the ſun's violent heat. (*Ibid.*)

Alterations in Creation.

But in a word, this obſervation is exceeding feeble. For we know it for certain that ſtone walls, of matter mouldering and feeble, have ſtood two or three thouſand years, and that many things have been dragged up out of the earth, of that depth as ſuppoſed to have been buried by the General Flood, without any alteration either of ſub-

ire ; yea it is believed, and
›robable, that the gold which
ınd in mines and rocks under
as created together with the
ıd if bodies elementary and
ed, the eldeſt times have not
ınd corrupted, what great
ſhould we look for in celeſtial
ſſential bodies ? And yet we
›n to think that the ſun, by
p all creatures are generate,
n theſe latter ages aſſiſt nature
›re. We have neither giants
: eldeſt world had, nor mighty
as the elder world had, but
in general are reported of leſs
ch from the heavens receive
Vhence, if the nature of a
ould permit a larger diſcourſe,
eaſily fetch ſtore of proof, as
/orld ſhall at length have end
:e it had beginning. (*Ibid.*)

·eation not Self-exiſting.

as it that appointed the earth
: centre, and gave order that it

ſhould hang in the air; that the ſun ſhould travel between the tropics, and never exceed thoſe bounds, nor fail to perform that progreſs once in every year; the moon to live by borrowed light; the fixed ſtars (according to common opinion) to be faſtened like nails in a cart wheel, and the planets to wander at their pleaſure? Or, if none of theſe had power over other, was it out of charity and love that the ſun, by his perpetual travel within thoſe two arches, hath viſited, given light unto and relieved all parts of the earth and the countries therein, by turns and times? Out of doubt, if the ſun have of his own accord kept this courſe in all eternity, he may juſtly be called eternal charity and everlaſting love. The ſame may be ſaid of all the ſtars, who, being all of them moſt large and clear fountains of virtue and operation, may alſo be called eternal virtues; the earth may be called eternal patience; the moon an eternal borrower and beggar; and man, of all other, the moſt miſerable, eternally mortal. And what were this but to believe again in the old play of the gods? yea, in more gods by millions

Heſiod dreamt of. But
iis mad folly, we ſee it well
ı our feeble and mortal eyes,
es of our reaſon diſcern it
the ſun, moon, ſtars and the
limited, bounded and con-
hemſelves they have not
nor could. (*Ibid.*)

Inviſible God is ſeen in His Creatures.

ıom the wiſeſt men acknow-
a Power ineffable and virtue
Light by abundant clarity
n Underſtanding which It-
ly comprehend; an Eſſence
ſpiritual, of abſolute pure-
ıplicity; was and is pleaſed
mſelf known by the work of
in the wonderful magnitude
which He embraceth, filleth
:th) we behold the image of
which cannot be meaſured,
that One and yet univerſal
ich cannot be defined. In
s lights of heaven we per-

ceive a ſhadow of His Divine countenance; in His merciful proviſion for all that live, His manifold goodness; and laſtly, in creating and making exiſtent the world univerſal, by the abſolute art of His own word, His power and almightineſs: which power, light, virtue, wiſdom and goodneſs, being all but attributes of One ſimple eſſence and One God, we in all admire and in part diſcern *per ſpeculum creaturarum*, that is, in the diſpoſition, order and variety of celeſtial and terreſtrial bodies: terreſtrial, in their ſtrange and manifold diverſities; celeſtial, in their beauty and magnitude; which in their continual and contrary motions, are neither repugnant, intermixed, nor confounded. By theſe potent effects we approach to the knowledge of the Omnipotent Cauſe, and by theſe motions, their Almighty Mover. (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

'Feeling after God.'

There is not anything in this world of more efficacy and force to allure and draw to it the hearts of men than God,

which is the *ſummum bonum.* He is carefully deſired and continually ſought for of all creatures; for all regard Him as their laſt end and refuge. Light things apply themſelves upwards, heavy things downwards; the heavens to revolution, the herbs to flowers, trees to bear fruit, beaſts to preſerve their kind, and man in ſeeking his tranquility and everlaſting glory. But foraſmuch as God is of ſo high a nature as the ſenſe and underſtanding of man cannot conceive it, every man directly turns himſelf to that place where He leaves ſome print of His power, and declares ſome ſign of His exiſtence; and to ſuch perſons to whom He ſeemeth more eſpecially to have revealed Himſelf. ('Cities.')

God Inconceivable.

'There would be no difference between God and man if man's underſtanding could conceive the counſels and diſpoſing of that eternal Majeſty' (Lactantius in Præf.); and therefore to be over-curious in ſearching how the

all-powerful Word of God wrought in the creation of the world, or His all-piercing and operative Spirit diſtinguiſhing, gave form to the matter of the univerſal, is a labour and ſearch like unto his who, not contented with a known and ſafe ford, will preſume to paſs over the greateſt river in all parts where he is ignorant of their depths; for ſo doth the one loſe his life and the other his underſtanding. We behold the ſun, and enjoy his light, as long as we look towards it but tenderly and circumſpectly; we warm ourſelves ſafely while we ſtand near the fire; but if we ſeek to outface the one or enter into the other, we forthwith become blind or burnt. (H. W.)

Wiſeſt Own God.

This is certain, that if we look into the wiſdom of all ages we ſhall find that there never was man of ſolid underſtanding or excellent judgment; never any man whoſe mind the art of education hath not bended; whoſe eyes

ſuperſtition hath not afterwards whoſe apprehenſions are ſober penſive inſpection adviſed, but hath found by an unreſiſtible one true God and everlaſting l for ever cauſing and all for ining. (*Ibid.*)

l-ſeeing, All-knowing God.

is neither of examples the ly inſtructions, nor the words viſeſt men, nor the terror of ments, that hath yet ſo wrought ind and ſtupefied minds as to remember that the infinite wiſdom of God doth pierce all our pretences; as to make nber that the juſtice of God uire none other accuſer than conſciences; which neither beauty of our apparent actions he formality which (to pacify ons of men) we put on, can in he leaſt kind, cover from His ge. And ſo much did that wiſdom confeſs, no way as yet by the knowledge of a true

God. If any (ſaith Euripides), 'having in his life committed wickedneſs, think he can hide it from the everlaſting God, he thinks not well.' (*Ibid.*)

Heathen Gods Dead.

All theſe are vaniſhed. For the inventions of mortal men are no leſs mortal than themſelves. The Fire which the Chaldeans worſhipped for a god is crept into every man's chimney; which the lack of fuel ſtarveth, water quencheth, and want of air ſuffocateth. Jupiter is no more vexed with Juno's jealouſies. Death hath perſuaded him to chaſtity and her to patience. And that Time which hath devoured itſelf hath alſo eaten up both the bodies and images of him and her—yea, their ſtately temples of ſtone and dureful marble. The houſes and ſumptuous buildings erected to Baal can nowhere be found upon the earth, nor any monument of that glorious temple conſecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phenicia that lament the death

of Adonis, nor any in Libya, Crete, Theſſalia, or elſewhere that can aſk counſel or help from Jupiter. The great god Pan hath broken his pipes. Apollo's prieſts are become ſpeechleſs; and the trade of riddles in oracles, with the Devil's telling men's fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit Egyptians [= gipſies] and cozening aſtrologers. (H. W., B. i., c. vi.) ['Temple of Diana' rediſcovered in our own time. See account of its magnificent ruins in Falkener (1862) and Guhl's 'Epheſiaca' (1843).]

GUIANA AND ITS COLONIZATION.

The Offer of Guiana to Queen Elizabeth Privately Affirmed, 1595.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

Sir,—You may perceive by this 'Relation' that it is no dream which I have reported of Guiana. And if one image [= idol ?] have been brought from

thence weighing 47 kintalls [47 hundredweight], I know that in Manoa there are ſtore of theſe. If the 'Relation' ſent to the Spaniſh king had been alſo taken, you ſhould therein have found matter of great admiration [= wonder]. But however this action be reſpected, I know that the like fortune was never offered to any Chriſtian prince. I know it will be preſently followed both by the Spaniſh and French, and if it be foreſlowed by us I conclude that we are curſed of God. In the meantime that none be ſuffered to foil the enterpriſe, and that thoſe kings of the borders which are by my labour, peril and charge won to her Majeſty's love and obedience, be not by other pilferers loſt again; I hope I ſhall be thought worthy to direct thoſe actions that I have at mine own charges laboured in, and to govern that country which I have diſcovered and hope to conquer for the Queen without her coſt. I am ſending away a bark to the country to comfort and aſſure the people, that they deſpair not, nor yield to any compoſition with other nations.

I know the plot [= map of Guiana]

is time finiſhed, which if you
›mmand from Harriot, that her
may ſee it. If it be thought
importance than it deſerveth,
jeſty will ſhortly bewail her
ce therein, and the enemy, by
ition of ſo much wealth, wear
f all. Sir, I pray eſteem it as
ir requireth if you love the
honour, profit, and ſafety. If
ught unworthy to be employed,
becauſe of my diſgrace all men
adventure with me—if it may
therwiſe—I wiſh ſome other of
fficiency and grace might under-
that the Queen loſe not that
ıe ſhall never find again.
ind that there are beſides gold,
monds and pearl . . . ('Letters,'
. 110.)

'ition is preparing for 'Guiana,'
1595.

To Sir Robert Cecil.

:oncluſion I will only ſay this
take good heed leſt you be not

too ſlow. Expedition in a little is better than much too late. But you miniſters of deſpatch are not plentiful. Neither is it every man's occupation. ('Letters,' pp. 108, 109.)

Another Appeal, 1595.

I beſeech you let me know whether we ſhall be travellers or tinkers, conquerors or novices. For if the winter paſs without making proviſion, there can be no victualling in the ſummer; and if it be now foreſlowed, farewell Guiana for ever. Then muſt I determine to beg or run away. Honour and gold and all good for ever hopeleſs. ('Letters,' p. 117.)

The Falls of Caroli in Guiana, 1595.

Myſelf with Captain Gifford, Captain Caulfield, Edward Hancock, and ſome half a dozen ſhot, marched over land to view the ſtrange overfalls of the river of Caroli, which roared ſo far off, and

ſee the plains adjoining, and the
the province of Canuri. I ſent
aptain Whiddon, W. Connock,
ne eight ſhot with them, to ſee if
ɔuld find any mineral-ſtone along
'er's ſide. When we ran to the
the firſt hills of the plains adjoin-
the river, we beheld that won-
breach of waters which ran down
and might from that mountain
river how it ran in three parts
twenty miles off; and there
ed ſome ten or twelve overfalls in
very one as high over the other
urch tower, which fell with that
at the rebound of waters made it
ɜ if it had been all covered over
great ſhower of rain; and in
ɔlaces we took it at the firſt for a
that had riſen over ſome great
For mine own part, I was well-
led from thence to have returned,
a very ill footman, but the reſt
ll ſo deſirous to go near the ſaid
thunder of waters, as they drew
by little and little, till we came
ıe next valley, where we might
diſcern the ſame. I never ſaw a
eautiful country, nor more lovely

proſpects; hills ſo raiſed here and there over the valleys, the river winding into diverſe branches, the plains adjoining without buſh or ſtubble, all fair green graſs, the ground of hard ſand, eaſy to march on, either for horſe or foot, the deer croſſing in every path, the birds towards the evening ſinging on every tree with a thouſand ſeveral tunes, cranes and herons of white, crimſon, and carnation perching on the river's ſide, the air freſh with a gentle eaſterly wind, and every ſtone that we ſtooped to take up promiſed either gold or ſilver by his complexion. ('Diſcoverie.')

Wonders of Guiana noted by Shakeſpeare, 1595.

There is alſo another goodly river beyond Caroli, which is called Arui [=Aro], which alſo runneth through the lake Caſſipa, and falleth into Orinoco farther weſt, making all the land between Caroli and Arui an iſland, which is likewiſe a moſt beautiful country. Next unto Arui [=Aro] there are two rivers,

and Caora [=Caura], and on
nch, which is called Caora, are
ı of people whoſe heads appear
ve their ſhoulders, which, though
be thought a mere fable, yet for
wn part I am reſolved it is true,
every child in the provinces of
a and Canuri affirms the ſame.
are called *Ewaipanoma*. They
orted to have their eyes in their
rs and their mouths in the middle
breaſts, and that a long train of
oweth backward between their
rs. ('Diſcoverie.') [Shakeſpeare
ıve read Raleigh's 'Diſcovery of
' [1595]. He makes uſe of this
tion of the Ewaipanoma when
) gives Deſdemona a relation of
nders he had ſeen :

cannibals, that each other eat;
Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
row beneath their shoulders.'

ays this reference was worked in
mpliment to Raleigh.]

Golden Dreams of Guiana, 1595-96.

If Peru had ſo many heaps of gold, whereof thoſe *Ingas* [= Incas] were princes, and that they delighted ſo much therein, no doubt but this which now liveth and reigneth in *Manoa* hath the ſame humour, and I am aſſured hath more abundance of gold within his territory than all Peru and the Weſt Indies. For the reſt, which myſelf have ſeen, I will promiſe theſe things that follow and know to be true. Thoſe that are deſirous to diſcover and to ſee many nations, may be ſatisfied within this river, which bringeth forth ſo many arms and branches leading to ſeveral countries and proving above 2,000 miles eaſt and weſt, and 800 miles ſouth and north, and of theſe the moſt either rich in gold or in other merchandiſes. The common ſoldier ſhall here fight for gold and pay himſelf, inſtead of pence, with plates of half a foot broad, whereas he beareth his bones in other wars for poverty and penury. Thoſe commanders and chieftains that ſhoot at honour and abundance, ſhall find there

more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more ſepulchres filled with treaſure, than either Cortez found in Mexico, or Pizzarro in Peru, and the ſhining glory of this conqueſt will eclipſe all theſe ſo far extended beams of the Spaniſh nation. ('Diſcoverie.')

The Pineapple.

Brought us . . . victuall, which they did in great plenty . . . with diverſe ſorts of excellent fruits and roots and great abundance of *Pinas*, the princeſs of fruits. ('Diſcoverie.')

Guiana Offered to Queen Elizabeth Publicly Affirmed, 1596.

The Weſt Indies were firſt offered her Majeſty's grandfather by Columbus, a ſtranger, in whom there might be doubt of deceit; and beſides, it was then thought incredible that there were

ſuch and ſo many lands and regions never written of before. This Empire is made known to her Majeſty by her own vaſſal, and by him that oweth to her more duty than an ordinary ſubject; ſo that it ſhall ill ſort with the many graces and benefits which I have received to abuſe her highneſs either with fables or imaginations. The country is already diſcovered, many nations won to her Majeſty's love and obedience; and thoſe Spaniards which have lateſt and longeſt laboured about the conqueſt beaten out, diſcouraged, and diſgraced, which among theſe nations were thought invincible. Her Majeſty may, in this enterpriſe, employ all thoſe ſoldiers and gentlemen that are younger brethren, and all captains and chieftains that want employment, and the charge will be only the firſt ſetting out in victualling and arming them; for after the firſt or ſecond year I doubt not but to ſee in London a Contractation Houſe of more receipt for Guiana than there is now in Seville for the Weſt Indies.

And I am reſolved that if there were but a ſmall army afoot in Guiana, marching towards Manoa, the chief

city of Inga, he would yield her Majeſty by compoſition ſo many hundred thouſand pounds yearly as ſhould both defend all enemies abroad and defray all expenſes at home, and that he would beſides pay a garriſon of 3,000 or 4,000 ſoldiers very royally to defend him againſt other nations; for he cannot but know how his predeceſſors—yea, how his own great-uncles, Guaſcar and Atibalipa, ſons to Guanacapa, emperor of Peru—were (while they contended for the empire) beaten out by the Spaniards, and that both of late years, and ever ſince the ſaid Conqueſt, the Spaniards have fought the paſſages and entry of his country; and of their cruelties uſed to the borderers he cannot be ignorant. In which reſpect no doubt but he will be brought to tribute with great gladneſs; if not, he hath neither ſhot nor iron weapon in all his empire, and therefore may eaſily be conquered.

And I further remember that Berreo confeſſed to me and others (which I proteſt before the majeſty of God to be true) that there was found among prophecies in Peru (at ſuch time as the

empire was reduced to the Spaniſh obedience), in their chiefeſt temples, amongſt divers others which foreſhowed the loſs of the ſaid empire, that from Inglatierra thoſe Ingas ſhould be again in time to come reſtored and delivered from the ſervitude of the ſaid conquerors. And I hope, as we note theſe few hands have diſplanted the firſt garriſon, and driven them out of the ſaid country, ſo her Majeſty will give orders for the reſt, and either defend it and hold it as tributary, or conquer and keep it as empreſs of the ſame; for whatſoever prince ſhall poſſeſs it ſhall be greateſt; and if the king of Spain enjoy it, he ſhall become irreſiſtible. Her Majeſty hereby ſhall confirm and ſtrengthen the opinions of all nations, as touching her great and princely actions. And where the South border of Guiana reacheth to the dominion and empire of the Amazones, there women ſhall hereby hear the name of a virgin which is not only able to defend her own territories and her neighbours', but alſo to invade and conquer ſo great empires and ſo far removed.

To ſpeak more at this time, I fear, would be but troubleſome. I truſt in God, this being true, will ſuffice, and that He which is King of all kings and Lord of all lords will put it into her heart which is lady of ladies to poſſeſs it; if not, I will judge thoſe men worthy to be kings thereof that, by her grace and leave, will undertake it of themſelves. ('Diſcoverie of Guiana.')

Why More Gold was not Brought from Guiana, 1596.

For any longer ſtay to have brough a more quantity (which I hear hath been often objected), whoſoever had ſeen or proved the fury of that river [Oronoque] after it began to ariſe, and had been a month and odd days, as we were, from hearing aught from our ſhips, leaving them meanly manned above 400 miles off, would perchance have turned ſomewhat ſooner than we did, if all the mountains had been gold or rich ſtones, and to ſay the truth, all the branches and ſmall rivers which fell into Oronoko

were raiſed with ſuch ſpeed, as if we waded therein over the ſhoes in the morning outward, we were covered to the ſhoulders homeward the very ſame day, and to ſtay to dig out gold with our nails had been *opus laboris* but not *ingenii:* ſuch a quantity as would have ſerved our turns we could not have had but a diſcovery of the mines to our infinite diſadvantage we had made, and that could have been the beſt profit of further ſearch or ſtay; for thoſe mines are not eaſily broken nor opened in haſte, and I could have returned a good quantity of gold ready caſt if I had not ſhot at another mark than preſent profit. ('Diſcoverie.')

Voyage to Guiana further preſſed, 1615-16.

To Secretary Sir Ralph Winwoa.

Honoured Sir,—I was lately perſuaded by two gentlemen, my ancient friends, to acquaint your Honour with ſome offers of mine made heretofore for a journey to Guiana, who were of

n that it would be better under-
ıow than when it was firſt pro-
ed; which advice having ſur-
ed my deſpair, I have preſumed
l unto your Honour the copies of
etters which I then wrote, both
Majeſty and to the Treaſurer
wherein as well the reaſons that
ɔved me are remembered, as the
ons by him made are briefly
ed.
at I know of the riches of that
not by hearſay, but what mine
ave ſeen, I have ſaid it often, but
then to no end: becauſe thoſe
ıd the greateſt truſt were reſolved
› believe it; not becauſe they
:d the truth, but becauſe they
:d my diſpoſition towards them-
where [=in caſe that] (if God
eſſed me in the enterpriſe) I had
red his Majeſty's favour and good
n. Other cauſe than this or other
on, they never had any. Our
'orthy Prince of Wales was ex-
curious in ſearching out the
: of my offences; the Queen's
ty has informed herſelf from the
ıing; the King of Denmark at

both times of his being here, was thoroughly ſatisfied of my innocence; they would otherwiſe never have moved his Majeſty on my behalf.

The wife, the brother and the ſon of a king do not uſe to ſue for men ſuſpect; but, Sir, ſince they all have done it out of their charity, and but with reference to me alone, your Honour (whoſe reſpect hath only relation to his Majeſty's ſervice), ſtrengthened by the example of thoſe princes, may with the more hardneſs [= reſolution] do the like, being princes to whom his Majeſty's good eſtate is no leſs dear, and all men that ſhall oppugn it no leſs hateful than to the King himſelf.

It is true, Sir, that his Majeſty hath ſometimes anſwered that his Council knew me better than he did; meaning ſome two or three of them; and it was indeed my infelicity. For had his Majeſty known me I had never been here where I now am; or had I known his Majeſty, they had never been ſo long there where they now are. His Majeſty not knowing of me hath been my ruin; and his Majeſty miſknowing of them hath been the ruin of a goodly

of his eſtate: but they are all of now—ſome living and ſome dying ne to his Majeſty's knowledge. Sir, how little ſoever his Majeſty me, and how much ſoever he ed them, yet have I been bound Majeſty both for my life and all remains, of which but for his ty, no life or aught elſe had re- d. In this reſpect, Sir, I am to yield up the ſame life and all have for his Majeſty's ſervice. e for the King and not by the s all the ambition I have in the —WALTER RALEGH. ('Letters,' 9-341.)

Thanks for releaſe from Tower, 1615-16, *March* 17.

r George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham.

—You have by your mediation e again into the world. I can but wledge it; for to pay any part of favours by any return of mine as

yet it is not in my power. If it ſucceed well, a good part of the honours ſhall be yours; and if I do not alſo make it profitable unto you, I ſhall ſhow myſelf exceeding ungrateful.

In the meanwhile, and until God diſcover the ſucceſs, I beſeech you to reckon me among the number of your faithful ſervants, though the leaſt able. —W. RALEGH. ('Letters,' p. 341: ſee alſo Raleigh's pathetic letter to Buckingham, pp. 373-375, of 1618.)

Legality of the Guiana Expedition of 1618.

To George Lord Carew of Clopton.

Becauſe I know not whether I ſhall live to come before the Lords, I have for his Majeſty's ſatisfaction here ſet down as much as I can ſay, either for mine own defence or againſt myſelf, as things are conſtrued.

It is true that though I acquainted his Majeſty with my intent to land in Guiana, yet I never made it known to

lajeſty that the Spaniards had any
ıg there, neither had I any authority
y patent to remove the Spaniards
thence; and therefore his Majeſty
ıo intereſt in the attempt of St.
ıas by any foreknowledge thereof
Majeſty.
t knowing his Majeſty's title to the
ry to be the beſt and moſt Chriſtian,
ſe the natural lords did moſt will-
acknowledge Queen Elizabeth to
eir ſovereign, who by me promiſed
end them from the Spaniſh cruelty,
le no doubt but that I might enter
ınd by force—ſeeing the Spaniards
o other title but force (the Pope's
ion excepted); conſidering alſo
they got a poſſeſſion divers years
my poſſeſſion, taken for the
n of England. For were not
ıa his Majeſty's, then might I as
have been queſtioned for a thief
ıking of gold out of the King of
's mines, as the Spaniards do now
ne a peace-breaker: for from any
ory confeſſed to be the King of
's it is no more lawful to take gold
lawful for the Spaniards to take
ıt of Cornwall.

Now, were this poſſeſſion of theirs a ſufficient bar to his Majeſty's right, the Kings of Spain might as well call themſelves Dukes of Brittany becauſe they held Bluette and fortified there; and Kings of Ireland becauſe they poſſeſſed Smerwick and fortified there; and ſo in other places.

That his Majeſty was well reſolved of his right there, I make no kind of doubt, becauſe the Engliſh, both under Mr. Charles Leigh and Mr. Harcourt, had leave to plant and inhabit the country.

That Oronoque itſelf had [had] long ere this 5,000 Engliſh in it, I aſſure myſelf—had not my employment at Cales [Cadiz] the next year after my return from Guiana, and after that our journey to the Iſlands, hindered me for theſe two years; after which Tyrone's Rebellion made her Majeſty unwilling that any great number of ſhips or men ſhould be taken out of England till that Rebellion were ended. And, laſtly, her Majeſty's death and my long impriſonment gave time to the Spaniards to ſet up a town of ſtakes covered with leaves of trees, upon the banks of the Oronoque, which they called St. Thomas; but they

:ither reconciled nor conquered
the Caſiques or natural lords of
ntry; which Caſiques are ſtill in
ainſt them, as by the Governor's
) the King of Spain may appear.
by landing in Guiana there can be
ach of peace, I think yet, under
impoſſible. To break peace
here is no peace, it cannot be.
the Spaniards give us no peace
it doth appear by the King's
o his Governor, that they ſhall
death all thoſe Spaniards and
that trade—*con los Engleſes*
—with Engliſh enemies. Yea,
ery Spaniards which we en-
ed at St. Thomas did of late
urder 36 of Mr. Hall's men,
idon, and mine, who landed,
weapons, upon the Spaniſh faith,
with them.* Mr. Thorne, alſo

n 'Apology': 'If we had any peace
Spaniards in those parts of the world,
even those Spaniards which were now
red, tie the six-and-thirty Englishmen
aster Hall's ship of London and mine,
back, and cut their throats after they
ed with them a whole month, and
hem ashore having not so much as a
any other weapon among them all?'

of Tower Street, in London, beſides many other Engliſh, was in like ſort murdered, the year before my delivery out of the Tower.

Now if this kind of trade be 'peaceable,' there is then a peaceable trade in the Indies between us and the Spaniards. But if this be cruel war and hatred and no peace, then there is no peace broken by our attempt. Again, how doth it ſtand with the greatneſs of the King of Spain firſt to call us 'enemies' when he did hope to cut us in pieces, and then, having failed, to call us peace-breakers; for to be an enemy and a peacebreaker in one and the ſame action is impoſſible. But the King of Spain, in his letter to the Governor of Guiana, dated at Madrill [Madrid], the 29th of March—before we left the Thames—calls us *Engleſes enemigos*.

Had it pleaſed the King of Spain to have written to his Majeſty in ſix months' time (for we were ſo long in preparing), and have made his Majeſty know that our landing in Guiana would draw after it a breach of peace, I preſume to think his Majeſty would have ſtayed our enterpriſe for the preſent. This he might

have done with leſs charges than to levy 300 ſoldiers and tranſport 10 pieces of ordnance from Puerto Rico; which ſoldiers, added to the garriſon of St. Thomas (had they arrived before our coming), had overthrown all our ſaid companies. And there would have followed no complaint.

For the vain point of landing near St. Thomas, it is true that we were of opinion that we muſt have driven the Spaniards out of this town before we could paſs the thick woods upon the mountain of the mine, which, I confeſs, I did firſt reſolve upon. But better bethinking myſelf, I referred the taking of the town to the goodneſs of the mine, which if they found to be ſo rich as it might perſuade the leaving of a garriſon there, then to drive the Spaniards thence. But to have it burnt was never my intent; neither could they give me any reaſon why they did it.

Upon the return, I examined the Sergeant-Major and Kemiſh why they followed not my laſt directions for the trial of the mine before the taking of the town. And they anſwered me that, although they durſt hardly go to the

mine, leaving a garriſon of Spaniards behind them and their boats, yet they ſaid they followed thoſe later directions, and did land between the town and the mine; and that the Spaniards, without any manner of parley, ſet upon them unawares and charged them, calling them *Peros Engleſes*, and by ſkirmiſhing with them drew them on to the very entrance of the town before they knew where they were; ſo as if any peace had been in thoſe parts, the Spaniards firſt brake the peace and made the firſt ſlaughter. For as the Engliſh could not but land to ſeek the mine, being come thither to that end, ſo being firſt reviled and charged by the Spaniards, they could do no leſs than repel force by force.

Laſtly, it is a matter of no ſmall conſequence to acknowledge we have offended the King of Spain by landing in Guiana. For, firſt, it weakens his Majeſty's title to the country, or quits it; ſecondly, there is no king that hath ever given the leaſt way to any other king or ſtate in the traffic of the lives and goods of his ſubjects—to wit, as in our caſe, that it ſhall be lawful for the

ırds to murder us either by war
'or, and not lawful for us to defend
ves and pay them with their own
. . [MS. burned away here] . . .
nch gentleman called Florie went
: with purpoſe and with com-
ı to burn and to ſack all places
Indies that he could maſter; and
ıth the French King married a
ter of Spain.
s is all that I can ſay, other than
: ſpent my poor eſtate, loſt my ſon
ıy health, and endured as many
f miſeries as ever man did, in hope
his Majeſty ſervice; and have not,
y underſtanding, committed any
act other than the entrance upon
itory belonging to the crown of
nd, where the Engliſh were firſt
ɔon and ſlain by the uſurping
ırds.
nvaded no other parts of the
ı pretended by the Spaniards. I
ıed unto England with the manifeſt
ɔf my life, with a purpoſe not to
ny life by any other act than his
ty's grace, and from which no man
ny peril could diſſuade me. To
ɡrace, and goodneſs, and kinglineſs

I refer myſelf; which, if it ſhall find that I have not yet ſuffered enough, it may, if it pleaſe, add more affliction to the remainder of a wretched life. [Alſo burned away.] ('Letters,' pp. 375-380. Cf. 'Apology' for brief account of the facts.)

On the Death of Walter Raleigh, in Guiana, March 22, 1618.

To Lady Raleigh.

I was loath to write, becauſe I knew not how to comfort you; and God knows I never knew what ſorrow meant till now. All that I can ſay to you is, that you muſt obey the will and providence of God, and remember that the Queen's Majeſty bare the loſs of the Prince Henry with a magnanimous heart, and the Lady Harrington of her only ſon. Comfort your heart (deareſt Beſs); I ſhall ſorrow for us both. I ſhall ſorrow the leſs becauſe I have not long to ſorrow, becauſe not long to live. I refer you to Mr. Secretary

ood's letter, who will give you a
f it if you ſend for it. Therein
ıall know what hath paſſed. I
written but that letter, for my
are broken, and it is a torment
ıe to write, and eſpecially of
. I have deſired Mr. Secretary
e my Lord Carew a copy of his
I have cleanſed my ſhip of
en, and ſent them home. I hope
vill ſend us ſomewhat ere we re-
Commend me to all at Lothbury.
ıall hear from me, if I live, from
ewfoundland, where I mean to
clean my ſhip and revictual, for
e tobacco enough to pay for it.
Lord bleſs and comfort you, that
nay bear patiently the death of
aliant ſon. Yours, W. RALEGH.
ıd of March [1618], from the Iſle
riſtopher.

ſtcript.]—I proteſt before the
y of God that, as Sir Francis
: and Sir John Hawkins died
broken when they failed of their
ɔriſe, I could willingly do the like,
not contend againſt ſorrow for
ſake, in hope to provide ſomewhat

for you and to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, reſolve yourſelf that it is the care for you that hath ſtrengthened my heart. It is true that Kemiſh might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But, after my ſon's death, he made them to believe he knew not the way, and excuſed himſelf upon the want of water in the river, and, counterfeiting many impediments, left it unfound. When he came back I told him that he had undone me, and that my credit was loſt for ever.

He anſwered that when my ſon was loſt, and that he left me ſo weak that he reſolved not to find me alive, he had no reaſon to enrich a company of raſcals, who, after my ſon's death, made no accompt of him. He further told me that the Engliſh ſent up into Guiana could hardly defend the Spaniſh town of St. Thomas, which they had taken, and therefore for them to paſs through thick woods, it was impoſſible; and more impoſſible to have victuals brought them into the mountain. And it is true that the governor Diego Polemeque and four other captains, being ſlain, of which my ſon Watte

lter] ſlew one; Pleſſington, Watt's
, and John of Moroccoes, one of
n, ſlew other two. I ſay, five of
ɔeing ſlain in the entrance of the
he reſt went off in a whole body
ɔok more care to defend the
to their mines (of which they
ree within a league of the town,
a mine that was about 5 miles
an they did of the town itſelf.
:miſh at the firſt was reſolved to
he mine; but when he came to
ıkſide to the land, he had two of
:n ſlain outright from the bank
others hurt, and Captain Thornix
the head, of which wound and
cidents thereof he hath pined
ıeſe twelve weeks.

· when Kemiſh came back and
e the four reaſons which moved
ɔt to open the mine—the one,
ıth of my ſon; the ſecond, the
:ſs of the Engliſh and their im-
ities to work and to be victualled;
, that it was a folly to diſcover
he Spaniards; and the laſt, both
ıkneſs and my being unpardoned
that I rejected all theſe argu-
and told him that I muſt leave it

to himſelf to anſwer it to the King and the State, he ſhut up himſelf into his cabin and ſhot himſelf with a pocket-piſtol, which brake one of his ribs; and, finding it had not prevailed, he thruſt a long knife under his other ribs up to the handle, and died. Thus much I have writ to Mr. Secretary, to whoſe letters I refer you. But, becauſe I think my friends will rather hearken after you than any other to know the truth, I did, after the ſailing back, open your letter again, to let you know in brief the ſtate of that buſineſs; which I pray you impart to my Lord of Northumberland, and Silvanus Scory and to Sir John Leigh.

For the reſt, there was never poor man ſo expoſed to the ſlaughter as I was; for being commanded upon my allegiance to ſet down, not only the country, but the very rivers, by which I was to enter it—to name my ſhips, number my men and my artillery; this was ſent by the Spaniſh Ambaſſador forthwith to the King of Spain. The King wrote his letters to all parts of the Indies, eſpecially to the gentlemen of conſequence of Guiana, El Dorado

and Trinidado; of which the firſt letter bore date the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrill [= Madrid], when I had not yet left the Thames: which letter I have ſent Mr. Secretary. I have alſo two other letters of the King's which I reſerve, and one of the Council. The King alſo ſent a commiſſion to levy 300 ſoldiers out of his garriſons of Nuevo Reigno de Granadoes and Porto Rico, with ten pieces of braſs ordnance to entertain us. He alſo prepared an armada by ſea to ſet upon us. It were too long to tell you how we were preſſed. If I live I ſhall make it known. My brains are broken, and I cannot write much. I live yet, and I have told you why. Whitney, for whom I ſold my plate at Plymouth, and to whom I gave more credit and countenance than all the captains of my fleet, ran from me at the Granadoes, and Woolaſton with him; ſo as I own now but five ſhips, and one of theſe I have ſent home—my fly-boat—and in her a rabble of idle raſcals, which I know will not ſpare to wound me; but I care not. I am ſure there is never a baſe ſlave in the fleet hath taken the pains

and care that I have done; hath ſlept ſo little and travailed ſo much. My friends will not believe them; and for the reſt I care not. God in heaven bleſs and ſtrengthen your heart. Yours, W. RALEGH. ('Letters,' pp. 359-363. See under 'Guiana.')

HONOUR.

If we hold it no diſgrace to ſubmit ourſelves for the recovery of our debts, goods, and lands, and for all things elſe by which the lives of ourſelves, our wives and children are ſuſtained, to the judges of the land, becauſe it may be felony to take by violence even that which is our own, why ſhould we not ſubmit ourſelves to the judges of honour in caſes of honour, becauſe to recover our reputation by ſtrong hand may be murder? But yet, again, it may be objected that the loſs of honour ought to be more fearful unto us than either the loſs of our goods, of our lands, or of our lives; and I ſay ſo too. But what is this honour—I mean honour indeed—

that which ought to be ſo dear unto
ɔther than a kind of hiſtory or fame,
ɔwing actions of virtue, actions
ɔmpanied with difficulty or danger,
undertaken for the public good?
heſe, he that is employed and truſted,
ıe fail in the performance either
ıugh cowardice or any other baſe
ction, it is true that he loſeth his
our. But the acting of a private
ıbat for a private reſpect, and moſt
ımonly a frivolous one, is not an
ɔn of virtue, becauſe it is contrary
he law of God and of all Chriſtian
gs; neither is it difficult, becauſe
ı and equal in perſons and arms;
her for a public good, but tending to
contrary, becauſe the loſs or mutila-
of an able man is alſo a loſs to the
ımonweal. (H. W., B. v., c. iii.)

INJUSTICE.

Certainly, with more patience men
wont to endure the loſs that befell
m by mere caſualty than the damage
y ſuſtain by means of injuſtice, becauſe

theſe are accompanied with ſenſe of indignity, whereof the other are free. When robbers break into men's homes and ſpoil them, they tell the owners plainly that money they want, and money they muſt have. But when a judge, corrupted by reward, hatred, favours, or any other paſſion, takes both home and land from the rightful owner and beſtows them upon ſome friend of his own or his favourite, he ſays that the rule of juſtice will have it ſo; that it is the voice of the law and ordinance of God Himſelf: and what elſe harm doth he, than by a kind of circumlocution tell his humble ſuppliants that he holds them idiots or baſe wretches, not able to get relief? Muſt it not aſtoniſh and, withal, vex any man of a free ſpirit when he ſees none other difference between the judge and the thief than in the manner of performing of their exploits: as if the whole being of juſtice conſiſted in point of formality? In ſuch caſe, an honeſt ſubject will either ſeek remedy by ordinary courſes, or wait his time till God ſhall place better men in office, and call the oppreſſors to account. But a ſtranger will not do ſo; he hath nothing

h the affairs of Barbary, neither it him what officers be placed ced in Tarradanto, or whether in himſelf can contain the : his ſhop and goods are unjuſtly m him, and, therefore, he will e to right himſelf if he can, and ie injury tenfold upon the whole from which he received it. , that men are ſooner weary to tendance at the gates of foreign n to tarry the good leiſure of n magiſtrates ; nor do they bear y the loſs of ſome parcel con- broad as the greater detriment hey ſuffer by ſome prowling iral, cuſtomer, or public min- eir return. ('Diſcoverie.')

INSTINCT.

aw of nature in general I take hat diſpoſition, inſtinct, and uality which God in His eternal ce hath given and imprinted ture of every creature, animate nimate. And as it is *divinum*

lumen in man, enlightening our formal reaſon, ſo is it more than ſenſe in beaſts and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not ſenſe alone in beaſts which teacheth them at firſt ſight and without experience or inſtruction to fly from the enemies of their lives; ſeeing that bulls and horſes appear unto the ſenſe more fearful and terrible than the leaſt kind of dogs, and yet the hare and deer feed by the one and fly from the other—yea, though by them never ſeen before, and that as ſoon as they fell from their dams. Neither is it ſenſe which hath taught other beaſts to provide for winter: birds to build their neſts high or low, according to the tempeſtuous or quiet ſeaſons; or the birds of India to make their neſts on the ſmalleſt twigs which hang over rivers and not on any other part of the tree or elſewhere, to ſave their eggs and young ones from the monkeys and other beaſts, whoſe weight ſuch a twig could not bear, and which would fear to fall into the water. The inſtances in this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that ſome trees, as the female of

ıe palmetto, will not bear any fruit
ıcept the male grow in ſight. But
ıis they do by that law which the
ıfinite and unſearchable wiſdom of God
ad in all eternity provided for them
ıd for every nature created. (H. W.,
. ii., c. iii.)

KINGS AND KINGDOMS.

ings—in what Sort exempt from Human Laws.

Whether the power of the human law
e without exception of any perſon, it is
oubtfully diſputed among thoſe that
ave written of this ſubject, as well
ivines as lawyers; and namely, Whether
ıvereign princes be compellable, yea
r no? But whereas there are two
owers of the law, as aforeſaid, the one
irective, the other coactive, to the
ower directive they ought to be ſubject,
ut not to that which conſtraineth. For
ı touching violence or puniſhments, no
ıan is bound to give a prejudicial
ıdgment againſt himſelf; and if equals
ave not any power over each other,
ıuch leſs have inferiors over their

ſuperiors, from whom they receive their authority and ſtrength. And ſpeaking of the ſupreme power of laws, ſimply then is the prince ſo much above the laws as the ſoul and body united is above a dead and ſenſeleſs carcaſe. For the king is truly called *jus vivum et lex animata*, 'an animate and living law.' But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, princes both add greatneſs to themſelves and conſerve it, and therefore was it ſaid of Bracton, out of Juſtinian: 'Rightfully ought the king to attribute that to the law which the law firſt attributeth to the king, for it is the law that doth make kings.' But whereas Bracton (p. 2) aſcribeth this power to the human law, he is therein miſtaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine, and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembered by the divines and lawyers which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein than the law of conſcience and profit ariſing from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only. (H. W., B. ii., c. iv.)

BRAVE AND NOBLE WORDS TO THE KING OF ENGLAND (JAMES I.).

Most Gracious Soverreign,—Thoſe that are ſuppreſſed and helpleſs are commonly ſilent, wiſhing that the common ill in all ſort might be with their particular misfortunes; which diſpoſition, as it is uncharitable in all men, ſo it would be in me more dog-like than man-like to bite the ſtone that ſtruck me—to wit, the borrowed authority of my ſovereign miſinformed, ſeeing that arms and hands that flung it are moſt of them already rotten. For I muſt confeſs it ever that they are debts and not diſcontentments that your Majeſty hath laid upon me—the debts and obligations of a friendleſs adverſity, far more payable in all kinds than thoſe of the proſperous: all which, nor the leaſt of them, though I cannot diſcharge, I may yet endeavour it. And, notwithſtanding my reſtraint hath retrenched all ways, as well the ways of labour and work, as of all other employments, yet hath it left with me my

cogitations, than which I have nothing elſe to offer on the altar of my love.

Of theſe (moſt gracious Sovereign) I have uſed ſome part in the following diſpute between a Counſellor of State and a Juſtice of the Peace, the one diſſuading, the other perſuading, the calling of Parliament. In all which, ſince the Norman Conqueſt (at the leaſt, ſo many as hiſtories have gathered) I have in ſome things in the following diſpute preſented your Majeſty with the contents and ſucceſſes.

Some things there are, and thoſe of the greateſt, which becauſe they ought to be reſolved on, I thought fit to range them in the front of the reſt, to the end your Majeſty may be pleaſed to examine your own great and princely heart of their acceptance or refuſal.

The firſt is, that ſuppoſition that your Majeſty's ſubjects give nothing but with adjunction of their own intereſt, interlacing in one and the ſame act your Majeſty's relief and their own liberties; not that your Majeſty's piety was ever ſuſpected, but becauſe the beſt princes are ever the leaſt jealous, your Majeſty judging others by yourſelf who have abuſed your

Majeſty's truſt. The feared continuance of the like abuſe may perſuade the proviſion. But this caution, however it ſeemeth at firſt ſight, your Majeſty ſhall perceive by many examples following, but frivolous. The bonds of ſubjects to their kings ſhould always be wrought out of iron, the bonds of kings unto ſubjects but with cobwebs.

Thus it is (moſt renowned Sovereign) that this traffic of aſſurances hath been often urged, of which if the conditions have been eaſy, our kings have as eaſily kept them; if hard and prejudicial, either to their honour or eſtates, the creditors have been paid their debt with their own preſumption.

For all binding of a king by law upon the advantage of his neceſſity makes the breach itſelf lawful in a king, his charters and all other inſtruments being no other than the ſurviving witneſſes of unconſtrained will: *Princeps non ſubjicitur niſi, ſua voluntate libera, mero motu et certa ſcientia:* neceſſary words in all the grants of a king, in ſhowing that the ſame grants were given freely and knowingly.

The ſecond reſolution will reſt in your Majeſty leaving the new impoſi-

tions, all monopolies, and other grievances of the people to the conſideration of the Houſe [of Commons], provided that your Majeſty's revenue be not abated; which, if your Majeſty ſhall refuſe, it is thought that the diſputes will laſt long and the iſſues will be doubtful; and, on the contrary, if your Majeſty vouchſafe it, it may perchance be ſtyled a yielding, which ſeemeth by the ſound to brave the regality. But (moſt excellent Prince) what other is it to the ears of the wiſe but as the ſound a trumpet, having blaſted forth a falſe alarm, becomes the common air? Shall the head yield to the feet? Certainly it ought, when they are grieved; for wiſdom will rather regard the commodity than object the diſgrace; ſeeing if the feet be in fetters the head cannot be fed, and where the feet feel but their own pains the head doth not only ſuffer by participation, but withal by conſideration of the evil.

Certainly the point of honour well weighed, hath nothing in it to even the balance; for, by your Majeſty's favour, your Majeſty doth not yield either to any perſon or to any power, but to diſpute

in which the propoſition and minor
nothing without a concluſion;
1 no other perſon or power can
but a majeſty: yea, this in Henry
'hird's time was called a wiſdom
parable. For the king raiſed
recovered his authority: for
in that extremity that he was
1 with the queen and his children
blatibus et prioribus ſatis humilibus
a quærere et prandia. For the reſt,
t pleaſe your Majeſty to conſider,
there can nothing befall your
ty in matters of affairs more un-
ately, than meeting the Commons
rliament with ill ſucceſs: a diſ-
r ſo perſuaſive and adventurous as
l not only find arguments, but it
ake the leading of all enemies
hall offer themſelves againſt your
ty's eſtate.
tabourin de la pauvreté ne fait point
it: of which dangerous diſeaſe in
s the remedy doth chiefly conſiſt
love of the people; which how
r be had and held, no man knows
than your Majeſty; how to loſe
men know, and know that it is loſt
hing more than by the defence of

others in wrong doing: the only motives of miſchances that ever came to kings of this land ſince the Conqueſt.

It is only love (moſt renowned Sovereign) muſt prepare the way for your Majeſty's following deſires. It is love which obeys, which ſuffers, which gives, which ſticks at nothing; which love, as well of your Majeſty's people as the love of God to your Majeſty, that it may always hold, ſhall be the continual prayers of your Majeſty's moſt humble vaſſal, WALTER RALEGH. (Epiſtle dedicatory of 'Prerogative of Parliaments.')

ADVICE TO KINGS.

Counſellor. . . . I would fain know the man that durſt perſuade the king to call a Parliament; for if it ſhould ſucceed ill in what caſe were he? *Juſtice.* You ſay well for yourſelf, my Lord, and perchance you that are lovers of yourſelves (under pardon) do follow the advice of the late Duke of Alva, who was ever oppoſite to all reſolutions in buſineſs

of importance; for if the things enterpriſed ſucceeded well the advice never came in queſtion; if ill (whereto great undertakings are commonly ſubject), he then made his advantage by remembering his contrary counſel: but, my good Lord, theſe reſerved politicians are not the beſt ſervants; for he that is bound to adventure his life for his maſter is alſo bound to adventure his advice: 'Keep not back counſel,' ſaith Eccleſiaſticus, 'when it may do good.' ('Prerogative of Parliaments.')

AMBITION.

The power of ambition which poſſeſſeth the minds of men is ſuch as rarely or never ſufficeth them to reſt: the reaſon thereof is that Nature hath framed in them a certain diſpoſition to deſire all things but not power to obtain them; ſo as our deſires being greater than our power, thereof followeth diſcontent and evil ſatisfaction. Hereof alſo proceedeth the variation of fortune; for ſome men deſiring to get and

others fearing to loſe that they have gotten, do occaſion one man to injure another, and conſequently public wars do follow; by means whereof one country is ruined and another enlarged. (Cab.)

NOBILITY AND FAVOURITES.

By keeping that degree and due proportion that neither they exceed in number more than the realm or State can bear, as the Scottiſh kingdom, and ſometimes the Engliſh, when the realm was overcharged with the number of dukes, earls, and other nobles; whereby the authority of the prince was eclipſed and the realm troubled with their factions and ambitions. . . . Nor muſt it be neglected that not 'anyone ſo excel in honour, power, or wealth, as that he reſembles another king within the kingdom' as the houſe of Lancaſter within the realm. To that end, not to load any with too much honour and preferment, becauſe it is hard even for the beſt and worthieſt men to bear their greatneſs and high fortune temperately, as ap-

peareth by infinite examples in all States. The ſophiſms [= wiſe maxims] for preventing or reforming this inconvenience are to be uſed with great caution and wiſdom. If any great perſon be to be abated, not to deal with him by calumniation or forged matter, and ſo to cut him off without deſert; eſpecially if he be gracious among the people; which, beſides the injuſtice, is an occaſion many times of great danger towards the prince. Nor to withdraw their honour all at once, which maketh a deſperate diſcontentment in the party, and a commiſeration in the people, and ſo begetteth greater love towards him if he be already gracious for his virtue and public ſervice. Nor to baniſh him into foreign countries, where he may have opportunity of practiſing [= plotting] with foreign States; whereof great danger may enſue, as in the example of Coriolanus, Henry IV., and ſuch like. But to uſe theſe and the like ſophiſms, viz., to abate their greatneſs by degrees, as David, Joab, Juſtinian, Beliſarius, etc.; to advance ſome other men to as great or greater honour, to ſhadow or over-mate the greatneſs of the other; to draw from

him by degrees his friends and followers, by preferments, rewards, and other good and lawful means; eſpecially, to be provided that theſe great men be not employed in great and powerful affairs of the Commonwealth, whereby they may have more opportunity to ſway the State. (M.)

Enlarging Dominions.

He that enlargeth his dominions doth not always increaſe his power; but he that increaſeth in force as well as in dominion, ſhall thereby grow great; otherwiſe he gaineth no more than is ſhortly to be loſt, and conſequently he ruineth himſelf; for he who ſpends more on the war than he gains by victory, loſeth both labour and coſt. (Cab.)

Ancient Kingdoms vaniſhed.

Who hath not obſerved what labour, practice [= conſpiracy], feud, bloodſhed, and cruelty the kings and princes of the

world have undergone, exerciſed, taken on them and committed, to make themſelves and their iſſues maſters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Perſia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the reſt, no fruit, flower, graſs, nor leaf, ſpringing upon the face of the earth of thoſe ſeeds. No, their very roots and ruins do hardly remain. (Cab.)

King near his Ruin.

A prince ſheweth his ruin at hand whenſoever he beginneth to break the laws and cuſtoms which are ancient and have been long time obeyed by the people of his dominion. (Cab.)

Royal Favourites.

That prince which careth to keep himſelf ſecure from conſpiracy ought rather to fear thoſe to whom he hath done over-great favours than them whom he hath much injured; for theſe want

opportunities, the other do not; and both their desires are as one, because the appetite of commanding is always as much or more than the desire of revenge. (Cab.)

Commonwealth.

A Commonwealth is the swerving or depravation of a free or popular State, or the government of the whole multitude of the base and poorer sort, without respect of the other orders. These two States, to wit, the Oligarchy and Commonwealth, are very adverse the one to the other, and have many bickerings between them. For that the richer or nobler sort suppose a right or superiority to appertain unto them in every respect, because they are superior but in some respects only, to wit, in riches, birth, parentage, etc. On the other side, the common people suppose there ought to be an equality in all other things, and in some State matters, because they are equal with the rich or noble, touching their liberty; whereas, indeed, neither the one nor the other

are ſimply equal or ſuperior, as touching government and fitneſs thereunto, becauſe they are ſuch, to wit, becauſe they are rich, noble, free, etc., but becauſe they are wiſe, virtuous, valiant, etc., and ſo have fit parts to govern a State. The ſeveral States are ſometimes mixed and interwrought one with the other, yet even ſo as that the one hath eminence or predomination over the other, as in the humours and complexions of the body. So in the Roman State, the people had their *plebiſcita*, and gave the ſuffrage in the election of magiſtrates, yet the Senate (as the State ſtood) for the moſt part ſwayed the State and bore the chief rule. So in the Venetian State, the Duke ſeemeth to repreſent a monarch, and the Senate to be his council; yet the Duke hath no power in State matters, but is like a head ſet on by art that beareth no brain. And ſo that State is ſenatorical and ariſtocratical. (M.)

RULES AND AXIOMS FOR PRESERVING OF A KINGDOM, HEREDITARY OR CONQUERED.

Prerogative.

By the tempering and moderation of the princely power and prerogative. For the leſs and more temperate their power and ſtate is, the more firm and ſtable is their kingdom and government; becauſe they ſeem to be farther off from a maſter-like and tyrannical empire, and leſs unequal in condition to the next degree, to wit, the nobility, and ſo leſs ſubject to grudge and envy. (M.)

Free or Popular State.

The popular ſtate is the government of a State by the choiceſt ſort of people, tending to the public good of all ſort, viz., with due reſpect of the better, nobler and richer ſort. In every juſt State some part of the government

is, or ought to be, imparted to the people: as in a kingdom, a voice or ſuffrage in making laws; and ſometimes alſo in levying of arms (if the charge be great and the Prince forced to borrow help of his ſubjects) the matter rightly may be propounded to a Parliament, that the tax may ſeem to have proceeded from themſelves. So conſultations and proceedings in judicial matters may in part be referred to them. The reaſon, leſt ſeeing themſelves to be in no number nor of reckoning, they miſlike the State or kind of government: and where the multitude is diſcontented there muſt needs be many enemies to the preſent State. For which cauſe tyrants (which allow the people no manner of dealing in State matters) are forced to bereave them of their wealth and weapons, and all other means whereby they may reſiſt or amend themſelves, as in Ruthland [= Ruſſia], Turkey, etc. (M.)

Adminiſtration of Juſtice.

The good and direct adminiſtration of juſtice is in all places a principal part of government; for ſeldom or never ſhall we ſee any people diſcontented and deſirous of alteration where juſtice is equally adminiſtered without reſpect of perſons; and in every State this condition is required, but moſt of all in countries that do front upon other princes or were lately conquered. Hereunto the Prince's vigilancy and the magiſtrates' uprightneſs are eſpecially required; for oftentimes the prince is deceived and the magiſtrates corrupted. It behoveth alſo the prince to maintain the judges and miniſters of juſtice in their reputation, and yet to have a vigilant eye upon their proceedings, and the rather if their authority do include equity, and from their cenſure [=judgment] be no appeal; and if their office be during life, and they are men born and dwelling in the ſame country; all theſe things are to be duly conſidered of the prince: for as to call the judges

into queſtion is as it were to diſgrace the judicial ſeat, ſo to wink at their corruptions were matter of juſt diſcontent to the ſubject. In this caſe, therefore, the prince cannot do more than by his wiſdom to make choice of good men, and being choſen, to hold them in good reputation, ſo as the ordinary courſe of juſtice may proceed; for otherwiſe great diſorder, contempt and general confuſion will enſue thereof. Secondly, he is to keep his eye upon their proceedings; and laſtly, to reſerve unto himſelf a ſupreme power of appellation. (Cab.)

Royal Example.

Subjects are made good by two means, viz., by conſtraint of law and the prince's example; for in all eſtates the people do imitate thoſe conditions whereunto they ſee the prince inclined. Cf. Quintillian. (Cab.)

Puniſhments.

Puniſhments, impoſitions and cenſure are in all States neceſſary, although they ſhew and ſeem terrible, and conſequently breed a certain deſperation in ſubjects unleſs they be diſcreetly and modeſtly uſed; for extreme and frequent puniſhments taſte of cruelty; great and many impoſts ſavour of covetouſneſs; cenſure of manners, when it exceedeth the quality of offences, doth ſeem rigorous in theſe matters; therefore it behoveth the prince to be moderate and cautelous [= cautious], chiefly in capital puniſhment, which muſt be confined within the bounds of juſtice: *Sit apud principem parſimonia etiam viliſſimi ſanguinis.* Seneca. (Cab.)

Diſſimulation.

Diſſimulation is as it were begotten by diffidence, a quality in princes of ſo great neceſſity as moved the Emperor Tiberius to say, *Neſcit regnare qui neſcit*

diſſimulare. The neceſſity of diſſimulation is chiefly to be uſed with ſtrangers and enemies. It alſo ſheweth a certain diſcretion in magiſtrates ſometimes to diſguiſe with friends when no offence doth thereof follow: *Doli non doli ſunt, niſi aſtu colas.* Plautus. This kind of craft, albeit in every man's conceit not praiſeable, is nevertheleſs tolerable; and for princes and magiſtrates (the ſame being uſed to good ends) very neceſſary. But thoſe cunnings which are contrary to virtue ought not of honeſt men to be uſed; neither dare I commend adulation and corruption, though they be often uſed in Court and are of ſome learned writers allowed: *Decipere pro moribus temporum, prudentia eſt.* Plautus. (Cab.)

Heroical Virtue in Kings.

To be a good Governor is a rare commendation, and to prefer the weal public above all reſpects whatſoever, is the virtue juſtly termed heroical. Of this virtue many ages afford not many examples. Hector is named by Ariſtotle

as one of them, and deſervedly if this praiſe be due to extraordinary height of fortitude uſed in defence of a man's own country. But if we conſider that a love of the general good cannot be perfect without reference unto the Fountain of all goodneſs; we ſhall find that no moral virtue how great ſoever can by itſelf deſerve the commendation of more than virtue, as the *heroical* doth. Wherefore we muſt ſearch the Scriptures for patterns hereof; ſuch as David, Jehoſhaphat and Joſiah were, of Chriſtian kings. If there were many ſuch the world would ſoon be happy. It is not my purpoſe to wrong the work of any, by denying the praiſe where it is due or by preferring a leſs excellent. But he that can find a king religious and zealous in God's cauſe, without enforcement either of adverſity or of ſome regard of State; a procurer of the general peace and quiet; who not only uſeth his authority but adds the travail of his eloquence in admoniſhing his judges to do juſtice; by the vigorous influence of whoſe government civility is infuſed even into thoſe places that had been the dens of ſavage robbers and cut-

throats; one that hath quite aboliſhed a ſlaviſh Brehon law, by which a whole nation of his ſubjects were held in bondage [=Ireland], and one whoſe higher virtue and wiſdom doth make the praiſe not only of nobility and other ornaments, but of abſtinence from the blood, the wives and the goods of thoſe that are under his power, together with a world of chief commendations belonging unto ſome good princes to appear leſs regardable: he, I ſay, that can find ſuch a king, findeth an example worthy to add unto virtue an honourable title, if it were formerly wanting. Under ſuch a king it is likely by God's bleſſing that a land ſhall flouriſh, with increaſe of trade, in countries before unknown, that civility and religion ſhall be propagated into barbarous and heathen countries, and that the happineſs of his ſubjects ſhall cauſe the nations far off removed to wiſh him their ſovereign. (M.)

LAW.

Authority above Law.

A wiſe man ought not to deſire to inhabit that country where men have more authority than laws. (Cab.)

Magna Charta.

My good Lord, if you will give me leave to ſpeak freely, I ſay that they are not well adviſed that perſuade the king not to admit the *Magna Charta* with the former reſervations; for as the king can never loſe a farthing by it . . . ſo except England were as Naples is, and kept by garriſons of another nation, it is impoſſible for a King of England to greaten and enrich himſelf by any way ſo aſſuredly as by the love of his people; for by one rebellion the king hath more loſs than by a hundred years' obſervance of *Magna Charta*. For therein have our kings been forced to compound with rogues and rebels, and to pardon them; yea, the ſtate of the king, the monarchy,

the nobility, have been endangered by them. (Prerogative of Parliaments.)

Parliament.

The Kings of England have never received loſs by Parliament; or prejudice. (Prerogative of Parliaments.)

Power.

It is an old country proverb that Might overcomes Right: a weak title that wears a ſtrong ſword commonly prevails againſt a ſtrong title that wears but a weak one. (Prerogative of Parliaments.)

Loyalty.

I ſay the people are as loving to their king now as ever they were if they be honeſtly and wiſely dealt withal; and ſo his Majeſty had found them in his laſt two Parliaments, if he had not been betrayed by thoſe whom he moſt truſted. (Prerogative of Parliaments.)

Queen Elizabeth Acceſſible.

Queen Elizabeth would ſet the
of a mean man before the autho
the greateſt counſellor ſhe had ;
her patience therein ſhe raiſed,
the uſual and ordinary cuſtoms o
don, without any new impoſition,
£50,000 a year. For though th
ſurer Burleigh, and the Ea
Leiceſter and Secretary Walſi
all three penſioners to cuſtomer
did ſet themſelves againſt a poor
of the cuſtom-houſe, called Carw
and commanded the grooms of the
chamber not to give him acceſ
the Queen ſent for him and ga
countenance againſt them all
would not ſerve the turn with he
your lordſhips would tell her th
diſgracing her great officers by h
the complaints of buſy heads wa
honour to herſelf ; but ſhe had
the anſwer : 'That if any man
plain unjuſtly againſt a magiſtrate,
reaſon that he ſhould be ſe
puniſhed ; if juſtly, ſhe was the
of the ſmall as well as of the gre

l hear their complaints.' For a
: that ſuffereth himſelf to be
ed [=ſhut up, inacceſſible] for-
ı one of the greateſt regalities
ging to a monarchy, to wit, the
ppeal, or, as the French call it,
nier reſſort. (Prerogative of Parlia-
.)

LIFE AND DEATH.

'The Port of Death.'

: every man value his own wiſdom
pleaſeth: let the rich man think
ols, that cannot equal his abund-
; the revenger eſteem all negligent
have not trodden down their
ites; the politician, all groſs, that
ıt merchandiſe their faith; yet,
we once come in ſight of the port
:ath, to which all winds drive us,
when, by letting fall that fatal
ır which can never be weighed
, the navigation of this life takes
then it is, I ſay, that our own
.tions (thoſe ſad and ſevere cogita-

tions formerly beaten from us by
health and felicity) return again
pay us to the uttermoſt for all the pl
ing paſſages of our lives paſt. It is t
that we cry out to God for mercy; tl
when ourſelves can no longer exe
cruelty towards others: and it is
then that we are ſtrucken through
ſoul with this terrible ſentence,
'God will not be mocked' (Galat
vi. 7). For if, according to St. Pe
'the righteous ſcarcely be ſa
(1 Peter iv. 18), and that 'God ſp
not His angels' (2 Peter ii. 4), wh
ſhall thoſe appear, who, having fe
their appetites all their lives, preſ
to think that the ſevere commandm
of the all-powerful God were given
in ſport; and that the ſhort br
which we draw when Death pre
us, if we can but faſhion it to the ſo
of mercy (without any kind of ſatis
tion or amends), is ſufficient. '*O q
multi*,' ſaith a reverend father, '*cum
ſpe ad æternos labores et bella deſcen*
(Preface, H. W.)

Death of the Righteous—Real and Spurious.

I confeſs that it is a great comfort to our friends, to have it ſaid that we ended well; for we all deſire (as Balaam did), to 'die the death of the righteous.' But what ſhall we call a diſeſteeming, an oppoſing, or, indeed, a mocking of God, if thoſe men do not oppoſe Him, diſeſteem Him and mock Him, that think it enough for God to aſk Him forgiveneſs at leiſure, with the remainder and laſt drawing of a malicious breath? For what do they otherwiſe, that die this kind of well-dying, but ſay unto God as followeth: We beſeech Thee, O God, that all the falſehoods, forſwearing and teaching of our lives paſt, may be pleaſing unto Thee; that Thou wilt for our ſakes (that has had no leiſure to do anything for Thine) change Thy nature (though impoſſible), and forget to be a juſt God; that Thou wilt love injuries and oppreſſions; call ambition wiſdom and charity fooliſhneſs? For ſhall I prejudice my ſon (which I am reſolved not to do), if I make reſtitution and con-

feſs myſelf to have been unjuſt (wl
am too proud to do), if I delive
oppreſſed? Certainly theſe wiſe v
lings have either found out a new
or have made one; and in all likel
ſuch a leaden one as Louis the Ele
wore in his cap; which, when h
cauſed any that he feared or hated
killed, he would take it from his
and kiſs it, beſeeching it to pardon
this one evil act more and it ſhou
the laſt; which (as at other time
did, when by the practice [= plo
of a Cardinal and a falſified ſacra
he cauſed the Earl of Armagnac
ſtabbed to death; mockeries inde
to be uſed towards a leaden, bu
towards the ever-living God. (*Ibi*

Fortunate and Wretched.

Now, for the reſt, if we truly ex
the difference of both conditions, t
of the rich and mighty, whom w
fortunate, and of the poor and opp
whom we account wretched; we ſha
the happineſs of the one and the

able eſtate of the other, ſo tied by God to the very inſtant, and both ſo ſubject to interchange (witneſs the ſudden downfall of the greateſt princes and the ſpeedy upriſing of the meaneſt perſons), as the one hath nothing ſo certain whereof to boaſt, nor the other ſo uncertain whereof to bewail itſelf. For there is no man ſo aſſured of his honour, of his riches, health or life, but that he may be deprived of either or all the very next hour or day to come. *Quid veſper vehat, incertum eſt:* 'What the evening will bring with it, it is uncertain' (James iv. 14); 'And yet ye cannot tell' (ſaith St. James) 'what ſhall be to-morrow. To-day he is ſet up, and to-morrow he ſhall not be found; for he is turned into duſt, and his purpoſe periſheth.' And although the air which compaſſeth adverſity be very obſcure, yet therein we better diſcern God than in that ſhining light which environeth worldly glory; through which, for the clearneſs thereof, there is no vanity which eſcapeth our ſight. And let adverſity ſeem what it will; to happy men ridiculous, who make themſelves merry at other men's misfortunes, and

to thoſe under the Croſs, grievous; this is true, that for all that is pa the very inſtant, the portions remai are equal to either. For be it tha have lived many years, and (accor to Solomon) 'in them all we have joiced'; or be it that we have mea the ſame length of days and therein evermore ſorrowed; yet, looking from our preſent being, we find the one and the other, to wit, the and the woe, failed out of ſight, Death, which doth purſue us and us in check from our infancy gathered it. *Quicquid ætatis retr mors tenet:* 'Whatſoever of our a paſt, Death holds it.' (*Ibid.*)

Sorrows of this Life.

For myſelf, this is my conſola and all that I can offer to others, the ſorrows of this life are but of ſorts: whereof the one hath reſpe God, the other to the world. Ir firſt, we complain to God againſt ſelves for our offences againſt Him

confeſs: *Et tu juſtus es in omnibus quæ venerunt ſuper nos,* 'And Thou, O Lord, art juſt in all that hath befallen us.' In the ſecond, we complain to ourſelves againſt God as if He had done us wrong, either in not giving us worldly goods and honours anſwering our appetites, or for taking them again from us having had them; forgetting that humble and juſt acknowledgment of Job, 'The Lord hath given and the Lord hath taken' (c. i., v. 21). To the firſt of which St. Paul hath promiſed bleſſedneſs, to the ſecond death. And out of doubt he is either a fool or ungrateful to God, or both, that doth not acknowledge, how mean ſoever his eſtate be, that the ſame is yet far greater than that which God oweth him; or doth not acknowledge, how ſharp ſoever his afflictions be, that the ſame are yet far leſs than thoſe which are due unto him. And if an heathen wiſe man call the adverſities of the world but *tributa vivendi,* 'the tributes of living,' a wiſe Chriſtian man ought to know them and bear them but as the tributes of offending; he ought to bear them manlike and reſolvedly, and not as thoſe

whining ſoldiers do, *qui gementes ſequuntur imperatorem*, 'who lamenting followed their *imperator*.' (*Ibid.*)

Our Parts in Play of Life.

Seeing God, Who is the author of all our tragedies, hath written out for us and appointed us all the parts we are to play, and hath not, in their diſtribution, been partial to the moſt mighty princes of the world; that gave unto Darius the part of the greateſt emperor and the part of the moſt miſerable beggar, a beggar begging water of an enemy to quench the great drought of Death; that appointed Bajazet to play the grand ſignor of the Turks in the morning, and in the ſame day the footſtool of Tamerlane (both which parts Valerian had alſo played, being taken by Sapores); that made Beliſarius play the moſt victorious captain, and laſtly the part of a blind beggar; of which examples many thouſands may be produced; why ſhould other men, who are but as the leaſt worms, complain of wrongs? Certainly

there is no other account to be made of this ridiculous world, than to reſolve that the change of fortune on the great theatre is but as the change of garments on the leſs; for when, on the one and the other, every man wears but his own ſkin, the players are all alike. (*Ibid.*)

Death Leaſt of Evils.

I have often thought upon Death, and I find it the leaſt of all evils. All that which is paſt is as a dream, and he that hopes or depends upon time coming dreams waking. So much of our life as we have diſcovered is already dead; and all thoſe hours which we ſhare even from the breaſts of our mothers until we return to our grandmother the Earth, are part of our dying days, whereof even this is one; and thoſe that ſucceed are of the ſame nature, for we 'die daily'; and as others have given place to us, ſo we muſt in the end give way to others. (*Ibid.*)

Joys of Heaven.

Hereof we are aſſured that the long and dark night of Death, of whoſe following day we ſhall never behold the dawn (till His return that hath triumphed over it), ſhall cover us over till the world be no more. After which, and when we ſhall again receive organs glorified and incorruptible, the ſeats of angelical affections, in ſo great admiration ſhall the ſouls of the bleſſed be exerciſed, as they cannot admit the mixture of any ſecond or leſs joy, nor any return of foregone and mortal affection towards friends, kindred, or children. Of whom, whether we ſhall retain any particular knowledge, or in any ſort diſtinguiſh them, no man can aſſure us, and the wiſeſt men doubt [that is being ſtill on earth]. But, on the contrary, if a divine life retain any of thoſe faculties which the ſoul exerciſed in a mortal body, we ſhall not at that time ſo divide the joys of Heaven as to caſt any part thereof on the memory of their felicities which remain in the world. No; be their eſtates greater than ever the world gave, we ſhall (by the difference known

is) even deteſt their conſideration. /hatſoever comfort ſhall remain of epaſt, the ſame will conſiſt in the y which we exerciſed living, and t piety, juſtice, and firm faith for it pleaſed the infinite mercy of to accept of us and receive us.

·ailty of Human Life Unrealized.

ough our own eyes do everywhere l the ſudden and reſiſtleſs aſſaults :ath, and Nature aſſureth us by -failing experience, and Reaſon by ble demonſtration, that our times the earth have neither certainty urability; that our bodies are but ıvils of pain and diſeaſes and our the hives of unnumbered cares, vs, and paſſions; and that (when e moſt glorified) we are but thoſe :d poſts againſt which Envy and ne direct their darts; yet ſuch is the unhappineſs of our condition and k ignorance which covereth the ›r our underſtanding, that we only pamper, and exalt this vaſſal and

ſlave of Death [the body], and forget altogether (or only remember at our caſtaway leiſure) the impriſoned immortal ſoul, which can neither die with the reprobate, nor periſh with the mortal parts of virtuous men: ſeeing God's juſtice in the one and His greatneſs in the other is exerciſed for evermore, on the ever-living ſubjects of His reward and puniſhment. But when is it that we examine this great account? Never while we have one vanity left us to ſpend: we plead for titles till our breath fail us; dig for riches while our ſtrength enableth us; exerciſe malice while we can revenge; and then, when time hath beaten from us both youth, pleaſure, and health, and that Nature itſelf hateth the houſe of Old Age, we remember with Job that 'we muſt go the way from whence we ſhall not return,' and 'that our bed is made ready for us in the dark' (x. 21, xvii. 13); and then, I ſay, looking over-late into the bottom of our conſcience (which pleaſure and ambition had locked up from us all our lives), we behold therein the fearful images of our actions paſt, and withal the terrible inſcription (Eccles. xii. 14) 'that God

will bring every work into judgment that man hath done under the ſun.' But what examples have ever moved us? what perſuaſions reformed us? or what threatenings made us afraid? We behold other men's tragedies played before us, we hear what is promiſed and threatened; but the world's bright glory hath put out the eyes of our minds; and theſe betraying lights (with which we only ſee) do neither look up towards termleſs joys, nor down towards endleſs ſorrows, till we neither know nor can look for anything elſe at the world's hands. But let us not flatter our immortal ſouls herein; for to neglect God all our lives and know that we neglect Him, to offend God voluntarily and know that we offend Him, caſting our hopes on the peace which we truſt to make at parting, is no other than a rebellious preſumption, and that which is the worſt of all, even a contemptuous laughing to ſcorn and deriding of God, His laws and precepts: *Fruſtra ſperant qui ſic miſericordia Dei ſibi blandiuntur:* 'They hope in vain,' ſaith Bernard, 'which in this ſort flatter themſelves with God's mercy.' (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

'Eloquent' Death.

It is Death that puts into man all the wiſdom of the world without ſpeaking a word, which God with all the words of His law, promiſes or threats, doth not infuſe. Death, which hateth and deſtroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him is always deferred: 'I have conſidered,' ſaith Solomon, 'all the works that are under the ſun, and behold all is vanity and vexation of ſpirit' (Eccles. i. 14); but who believes it till Death tells it us? It was Death, which, opening the conſcience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoin his ſon Philip to reſtore Navarre; and King Francis the Firſt of France to command that juſtice ſhould be done upon the murderers of the Proteſtants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected.' It is, therefore, Death alone that can ſuddenly make man to know himſelf. He tells the proud and inſolent that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the inſtant, makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepaſt happineſs. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him

a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath intereſt in nothing but in gravel that fills his mouth. He holds a glaſs before the eyes of the moſt beautiful and makes them ſee therein their deformity and rottenneſs, and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, juſt, and mighty Death! Whom none could adviſe thou haſt perſuaded; what none hath dared thou haſt done; and whom all the world hath flattered thou only haſt caſt out of the world and deſpiſed; thou haſt drawn together all the far-ſtretched greatneſs, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of men, and covered it all over with theſe two narrow words—Hic Jacet. (H. W., B. vi., c. vi.)

MORAL GOVERNMENT OF THE UNIVERSE.

Providence.

Providence (which the Greeks call *pronoia*) is an intellectual knowledge, both foreſeeing, caring for, and ordering all things, and doth not only behold all

PAST, all PRESENT, and all To COME, but is the cauſe of their ſo being, which Preſcience (ſimply taken) is not; and therefore Providence, by the philoſophers, ſaith St. Auguſtine, is divided into memory, knowledge, and care: memory of the Paſt, knowledge of the Preſent, and care of the Future; and we ourſelves account ſuch a man for provident, as remembering things paſt, and obſerving things preſent, can by judgment, and comparing the one with the other, provide for the future and times ſucceeding. . . . God, therefore, Who could only be the cauſe of all, can only provide for all and ſuſtain all; ſo as to abſolute power, to everywhere-preſence, to perfect goodneſs, to pure and divine love (1 John iv. 1), this attribute and tranſcendent ability of Providence is only proper and belonging. (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Predeſtination.

For Predeſtination, we can difference it no otherwiſe from Providence and

Preſcience, than in this, that Preſcience only foreſeeth, Providence foreſeeth and careth for, and hath reſpect to all creatures (Rom. viii., ix.), even from the higheſt angels of heaven to the unworthieſt worms of the earth; and predeſtination (as it is uſed, eſpecially by divines) is only of men, and yet not of all men belonging, but of their ſalvation properly, in the common uſe of divines; or perdition, as ſome have uſed it. Yet Peter Lombard (l. i., diſt. 39), Thomas (Pt. i., diſt. 23), Bernenſis Theologus (in Probl., de p. d.), and others, take the word *predeſtination* more ſtrictly, and for a preparation to felicity. Divers of the Fathers take it more largely ſometimes; among whom St. Auguſtine, ſpeaking of two cities and two ſocieties, uſeth theſe words (l. xv., c. i., de Civ. Dei): 'Whereof one is it, which is predeſtinated to reign for ever with God, but the other is to undergo everlaſting torment with the devil'; for according to Nonius Marcellus, *deſtinare eſt præparare*. And of the ſame opinion are many Proteſtant writers, as Calvin (in c. ix., ad Rom.), Beza (*ibid.*), Buchanus, Danæus, and

ſuch like; and as for the manifold queſtions hereof ariſing, I leave them to the Divines; and why it hath pleaſed God to create ſome veſſels of honour and ſome of diſhonour, I will anſwer with Gregory, who ſaith, 'He that ſeeth no reaſon in the actions of God by conſideration of his own infirmity perceiveth the reaſon of his blindneſs' (Mag., Job ix.). And again with St. Auguſtine (ad Polin., ep. 59), 'Hidden the cauſe of His predeſtination may be, unjuſt it cannot be.' (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Fortune.

Seeing deſtiny or neceſſity is ſubſequent to God's providence, and ſeeing that the ſtars have no other dominion than as before ſpoken, and that Nature is nothing but as Plato called it, 'the art or artificial organ of God,' and Cuſanus 'the inſtrument of the divine precept'; we may with better reaſon reject that kind of idolatry or god of fools, called Fortune or Chance; a

goddeſs the moſt reverenced and the moſt reviled of all other, but not ancient, for Homer maketh her the daughter of Oceanus, as Pauſanias witneſſeth in his Meſſeniacks. The Greeks call her τῦχην, ſignifying a relative being or betiding, ſo as before Homer's time this great lady was ſcarce heard of; and Heſiod, who hath taught the birth and beginning of all theſe counterfeit gods, hath not a word of Fortune; yet afterwards ſhe grew ſo great and omnipotent, as from kings and kingdoms to beggars and cottages ſhe ordered all things, reſiſting the wiſdom of the wiſeſt, by making the poſſeſſor thereof miſerable; valuing the folly of the moſt fooliſh, by making their ſucceſs proſperous; inſomuch as the actions of men were ſaid to be but the ſport of Fortune and the variable accidents happening in men's lives but her paſtimes. . . . But I will forbear to be curious in that which (as it is commonly underſtood) is nothing elſe but a power imaginary, to which the ſucceſs of human actions and endeavours were for their vanity marked; for when a manifeſt cauſe could not be given then was it attributed to Fortune,

as if there were no cauſe of thoſe
of which moſt men are ignorant;
trary to this true ground of
'Nothing ever came to paſs unde
ſun of which there was not a juſt
ceding cauſe.' But Aquinas hath l
anſwered in one diſtinction, what
may be objected; for many things
are, ſaith he, which happen beſid
intention of the inferior, but not b
the intention of the ſuperior, tc
the ordinance of God; and, the
ſaith Melancthon (Sat. x. 366), 'V
the poets call Fortune we know
God.' (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Misfortune and Chance.

It may be objected that if Fc
and Chance were not ſometime
cauſes of good and evil in men, b
idle voice whereby we expreſs ſuc
how comes it, then, that ſo many w
and wiſe men depend upon ſo
unworthy and empty-headed
that riches and honour are gi
external men and without kerne

ſo many learned, virtuous, and valiant men wear out their lives in poor and dejected eſtates? In a word, there is no other inferior or apparent cauſe beſide the partiality of man's affection, but the faſhioning and not faſhioning of ourſelves according to the nature of the time wherein we live; for whoſoever is moſt able and beſt ſufficient to diſcern, and hath withal an honeſt and open heart and loving truth; if princes and thoſe that govern endure no other diſcourſe than their own flatterers, then I ſay ſuch an one, whoſe virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be baſe and a diſſembler, ſhall evermore hang under the wheel, which kind of deſerving well and receiving ill we always falſely charge Fortune withal. For whoſoever ſhall tell any great man or magiſtrate that he is not juſt, the general of an army that he is not valiant, and great ladies that they are not fair, ſhall never be made a counſellor, a captain or a courtier. Neither is it ſufficient to be wiſe with a wiſe prince, valiant with a valiant, and juſt with him that is juſt, for ſuch a one hath no eſtate in his proſperity; but he muſt alſo change

with the ſucceſſor if he be of contrary qualities; ſail with the tide of the time and alter form and condition as the eſtate or the eſtate's maſter changeth; otherwiſe how were it poſſible that the moſt baſe men, and ſeparate from all imitable qualities, could ſo often attain to honour and riches, but by ſuch an obſervant, ſlaviſh courſe? Theſe men, having nothing elſe to value themſelves by but a counterfeit kind of wondering at other men, and by making them believe that all their vices are virtues, and all their duſty actions cryſtalline, have yet in all ages proſpered equally with the moſt virtuous, if not exceeded them. For, according to Menander, 'every fool is won with his own pride and others' flattering applauſe,' ſo as whoſoever will live altogether out of himſelf and ſtudy other men's humours, and relieve them, ſhall never be unfortunate; and, on the contrary, that man which prizeth truth and virtue (except the ſeaſon wherein he liveth be of all theſe and of all ſorts of goodneſs, fruitful), ſhall never proſper by the poſſeſſion or profeſſion thereof. It is alſo a token of a worldly-wiſe man not to war or

end in vain againſt the nature of
s wherein he liveth, for ſuch a one
ften the author of his own miſery.
. Whoſoever therefore will ſet
re him Machiavel's two marks to
t at, to wit, riches and glory, muſt
n and take off a back of iron to a
c wooden bow, that it may fit both
ſtrong and the feeble; for as he that
deviſed to add ſails to rowing veſſels
either ſo proportion them as, being
ned abaft and towards the head of
maſt, he might abide all winds and
ns, or elſe he ſometime or other
hed by his own invention. So that
which prizeth virtue for itſelf, and
: endure to hoiſe and ſtrike his
as the divers natures of calms and
ns require, muſt cut his ſails and
:loth of mean length and breadth,
content himſelf with a ſlow and
navigation, to wit, a mean and free
e. But of this diſpute of Fortune
the reſt, or of whatſoever lords or
, imaginary powers or causes, the
(or rather fooliſhness) of man hath
d out, let us reſolve with St. Paul,
hath taught us, that there is 'but
God, the Father, of Whom are all

things, and we in Him, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by Whom are all things, and we by Him. There are diverſities of operations, but God is the ſame which maketh all in all' (1 Cor. viii. 6; xii. 6). (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Preſcience.

Preſcience or Foreknowledge (which the Greeks call *prognoſis*, the Latins *præcognitio* or *præſcientia*), conſidered in order and nature (if we may ſpeak of God after the manner of men), goeth before Providence; for God foreknew all things before He had created them, or before they had being to be cared for; and Preſcience is no other than an infallible foreknowledge. For whatſoever ourſelves foreknow, except the ſame be to ſucceed accordingly, it cannot be true that we foreknow it. But this preſcience of God (as it is preſcience only) is not the cauſe of anything futurely ſucceeding, neither doth God's foreknowledge impoſe any neceſſity or bond. For in that we fore-

know that the ſun will riſe and ſet; that all men born in the world ſhall die again; that after winter the ſpring ſhall come; after the ſpring, ſummer and harveſt; and that according to the ſeveral ſeeds that we ſow we ſhall reap ſeveral ſorts of grain; yet is not our foreknowledge the cauſe of this, or any of theſe; neither doth the knowledge in us bind or conſtrain the ſun to riſe and ſet, or men to die; for the cauſes (as men perſuade themſelves) are otherwiſe manifeſt and known to all (cf. Boethius de Conſol.). (H. W., B. i., c. i.)

Accidents ſo-called.

There is not the ſmalleſt accident which may ſeem unto man as falling out by chance and of no conſequence but that the ſame is cauſed by God, to effect ſomewhat elſe by; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greateſt worldly importance either preſently or in many years after, when the occaſions are either not conſidered or forgotten. (*Ibid.*)

Trifles in Providence.

In Deuteronomy the xixth [verſe 5] the ſlipping of an axe from the helve, whereby another was ſlain, was the work of God Himſelf. We in our phraſe attribute this accident to chance or fortune. And in Proverbs the xvith: 'The lot is caſt into the lap, but the whole diſpoſition thereof is of the Lord' [verſe 33]. So as that which ſeemeth moſt caſual and ſubject to fortune is yet diſpoſed by the ordinance of God, as all things elſe. (*Ibid.*)

INJUSTICE OF ARRAIGNMENT OF TREASON, NOV., 1603.

To Lord Cecil of Eſſingdon.

Sir,—To ſpeak of former times, were needleſs. Your Lordſhip knoı what I have been towards yourſelf, a how long I have loved you and h been favoured by you; but change times and mine own errors have w out thoſe remembrances (I fear),

if aught did remain yet in the ſtate wherein I ſtand, there can be no friendſhip; compaſſion there may be, for it is never ſeparate from honour and virtue.

If the power of law be not greater than the power of truth, I may juſtly beſeech you to relieve me in this my affliction. If it be, then your Lordſhip ſhall have cauſe (as a juſt man) to bewail my undeſerved miſerable eſtate. I cannot deſpair but that ſome warmth remaineth in cinders to move you to the firſt. To the ſecond I may aſſure myſelf that even God Himſelf and your Lordſhip's love to juſtice, will perſuade you.

Your Lordſhip knows my accuſer; and have ever known my affection to that nation for which I am accuſed. A heavy burden of God to be in danger of periſhing for a Prince which I have ſo long hated, and to ſuffer theſe miſeries under a Prince whom I have ſo long loved.

Sir, what malice may do againſt me I know not. My cauſe hath been handled by ſtrong enemies. But if ever I ſo much as ſuſpected this prac-

tiſe [= conſpiracy] laid tc
leave me to death; if the
equity ſhall be proved again
equitas is ſaid to be *Juris*
datio et juſtitiæ directio.

Your Lordſhip is now a
a merciful and juſt King, if
any. You have ever dealt
juſtice, as knowing no mai
vouchſafe now ſo to uſe
which God and the King
you, as to defend me fron
cruelty. *Potentia non eſt, n*
The law ought not to ov
but piety the law. Th
warrant all actions befor
God hath ſaid, *Innocentem n*
Your Lordſhip hath knov
time one in this place c
and in this place he periſt
the hour of his death r
Sacrament that he was innc
therefore, I ſhall be judged
How I have deſerved to l
know; and I deſire nothin
dum meritum meum.

If I ſhould ſay unto th
my love ſo long borne him
for ſome grace, it would p

taken for preſumption, becauſe he is a king and my ſovereign. But as the King is a true gentleman and a juſt man, beſides his being a king, ſo he oweth unto me ſuch a merciful reſpect as the reſolution moſt willingly to have hazarded my life and fortune for him againſt all men may deſerve.

For yourſelf, my Lord Cecil, and for me, ſometime your true friend, and now a miſerable forſaken man, I know that affections are neither taught nor perſuaded. But if aught remain of good, of love, or of compaſſion towards me, your Lordſhip will now ſhow it, when I am moſt unworthy of your love, and moſt unable to deſerve it. For even then is love, true honour, and true virtue expreſſed. And what I ſhall leave to pay [= leave unpaid] of ſo great a debt, God will perform to your Lordſhip and to yours. Your Lordſhip's wretched poor friend and ſervant, W. Ralegh.

Your Lordſhip will find that I have been ſtrangely practiſed [= conſpired] againſt, and that others have their lives promiſed to accuſe me. I can ſay no more, but beſeech you to uſe charity:

Charitas eſt quædam participati Sancti. ('Letters,' pp. 278-80

BOOKS IN PRISON,

To Sir Robert Cotton.

Sir Robert Cotton,—If y any of thoſe old books, or an ſcripts wherein I can read an written antiquities, if you plea them me for a little while, I w reſtore them, and think myſ beholden unto you; or if you old French hiſtory wherein o is mentioned, or any elſe language ſoever. — Your poo W. Ralegh. ('Letters,' Edwards annotates the liſt of l obſolete books, pp. 322, 323. Introduction.)

SEIZURE OF SHERBORNE, 1609 (?).

To Sir Robert Carr, after Earl of Somerſet.

Sir,—After many great loſſes and many years' ſorrows, of both which I have cauſe to fear I was miſtaken in their ends, it is come to my knowledge that yourſelf (whom I know not but by an honourable fame), have been perſuaded to give me and mine our laſt fatal blow, by obtaining from his Majeſty the inheritance of my children and nephews, loſt in law for want of words. This done, there remaineth nothing with me but the bare name of life, deſpoiled of all elſe but the title and ſorrow thereof. His Majesty, whom I never offended (for I ever held it both unnatural and unmanly to hate goodneſs), ſtayed me at the grave's brink; not, as I hope, that his Majeſty thought me worthy of many deaths and to behold all mine caſt out of the world with myſelf, but as a king who, judging the poor in truth, hath retained a promiſe

from God that his throne shall be eſtabliſhed for ever.

And for yourſelf, Sir, ſeeing your day is but now in the dawn and mine come to the evening—your own virtues and the king's grace, aſſuring you of many good fortunes and much honour—I beſeech you not to begin your firſt buildings upon the ruins of the innocent; and that their griefs and ſorrows do not attaint your firſt plantation. I have been bounden to your nation, as well for many other graces as for the true report of my trial to the king's Majeſty, againſt whom had I been found malignant, the hearing of my cauſe would not have changed enemies into friends, malice into compaſſion, and the greateſt number preſent into a commiſeration of mine eſtate. It is not the nature of foul treaſons to beget ſuch fair paſſions; neither would it agree with the duty and love of faithful ſubjects (eſpecially of your nation) to bewail his overthrow who had conſpired againſt their moſt bleſſed and natural Lord. I therefore truſt, Sir, that you will not be the firſt that will kill us outright, cut down the tree with the fruit, and undergo the

curſe of them that enter into the fields of the fatherleſs—the which (if it pleaſe you to know the truth) are far leſs fruitful in value than in fame; and that ſo worthy a gentleman as yourſelf will rather bind us to your ſervice, being Sir, gentlemen, not baſe in birth or alliance, who have intereſt therein. And myſelf, with the uttermoſt thankfulneſs, will ever remain ready to obey your commandments. — W. RALEGH. ('Letters,' pp. 326-328.)

INSTRUCTIONS TO HIS SON AND TO POSTERITY.

§ i. *Virtuous Perſons to be made Choice of for Friends.*

There is nothing more becoming any wiſe man than to make choice of friends; for by them thou ſhalt be judged what thou art. Let them, therefore, be wiſe and virtuous, and none of thoſe that follow thee for gain. But make election rather of thy betters than thy inferiors, ſhunning always ſuch as are poor and needy. For if thou giveſt

twenty gifts and refuſe to d
but once, all that thou haſt do
loſt, and ſuch men will be
mortal enemies. Take al
care that thou never truſt an
ſervant with any matter tha
danger thine eſtate; for ſo
make thyſelf a bondſlave to
thou truſteſt, and leave thyſel
his mercy. And be ſure of
ſhalt never find a friend in
years, whoſe conditions anc
will pleaſe thee after thou
more diſcretion and judgm
then all thou giveſt is loſ
wherein thou ſhalt truſt ſuch
be diſcovered [= revealed].

Such, therefore, as are th
will follow thee but to eat
and when thou leaveſt to
they will hate thee; and ſuc
men, if thou preſerve thy
always be had.

And if thy friends be of be
than thyſelf, thou mayeſt be
things; the firſt, that they wi
careful to keep thy counſe
they have more to loſe than
the ſecond, they will eſteer

thyſelf, and not for that which thou doſt poſſeſs.

But if thou be ſubject to any great vanity or ill (from which I hope God will bleſs thee), then therein truſt no man; for every man's folly ought to be his greateſt ſecret. And although I perſuade thee to aſſociate thyſelf with thy betters, or at leaſt with thy peers, yet remember always that thou venture not thy eſtate with any of thoſe great ones that ſhall attempt unlawful things; for ſuch men labour for themſelves and not for thee. Thou ſhalt be ſure to part [= ſhare] with them in the danger, but not in the honour; and to venture a ſure eſtate in preſent, in hope of a better in future, is mere madneſs.

And great men forget ſuch as have done them ſervice, when they have obtained what they would, and will rather hate thee for ſaying thou haſt been a means of their advancement, than acknowledge it. I could give thee a thouſand examples, and I myſelf know it and have taſted of it in all the courſe of my life. When thou ſhalt read and rehearſe the ſtories of all nations, thou ſhalt find innumerable examples of the

like. Let thy love, therefore, be to the beſt, ſo long as they do well; but take heed that thou love God, thy country, thy prince, and thine own eſtate, before all others; for the fancies of men change, and he that loves to-day, hateth to-morrow. But let reaſon be thy ſchoolmiſtreſs, which ſhall ever guide thee aright.

§ ii. *Great Care to be had in Chooſing of a Wife.*

The next and greateſt care ought to be in the choice of a wife; and the only danger therein is beauty, by which all men in all ages, wiſe and fooliſh, have been betrayed. And though I know it vain to uſe reaſons or arguments to diſſuade thee from being captivated therewith, there being few or none that ever reſiſted that witchery; yet I cannot omit to warn thee, as of other things, which may be thy ruin and deſtruction.

For the preſent time, it is true, that every man prefers his fantaſy in that

appetite, before all other worldly deſires, leaving the care of honour, credit and ſafety, in reſpect thereof. But remember, that though theſe affections do not laſt, yet the bond of marriage dureth to the end of thy life; and therefore better to be borne withal in a miſtreſs than as a wife; for when thy humour ſhall change thou art yet free to chooſe again (if thou give thyſelf that vain liberty). Remember, ſecondly, that if thou marry for beauty, thou bindeſt thyſelf all thy life for that which, perchance, will never [qu. neither ?] laſt nor pleaſe thee one year; and when thou haſt it, it will be to thee of no price at all; for the deſire dieth when it is attained, and the affection periſheth when it is ſatisfied.

Remember, when thou wert a ſucking child, that thou didſt love thy nurſe, and thou wert fond of her; after a while thou didſt love thy dry-nurſe and didſt forget the other; after that thou didſt alſo deſpiſe her. So will it be with thy liking in elder years; and therefore, though thou canſt not forbear to love, forbear to link; and after a while thou ſhalt find an alteration in thyſelf, and

ſee another far more pleaſin
firſt, ſecond, or third love.

Yet I wiſh thee above all
have a care thou doſt not m
comely woman for any re
comelineſs in children is
nothing elſe be left them.
have a care for thy races of
other beaſts, value the ſhape
lineſs of thy children, befo
or riches. Have care, theref
together; for if thou have
and a poor one, if thine ow
not great, aſſure thyſelf that
not with want; for ſhe is the
of plenty and honour. For
knew a poor woman exceedi
was not made diſhoneſt by o
in the end. Thus Bathſheba
ſon Solomon: 'Favour is d
beauty is vain.' She wrot
'That a wiſe woman overſee
of her houſehold, and eate
bread of idleneſs' [Proverbs

Have, therefore, ever mor
thou be beloved of thy wife,
thyſelf beſotted on her; an
judge of her love by theſe t
tions: firſt, if thou perceiv

care of thy eſtate, and exerciſe herſelf therein; the other, if ſhe ſtudy to pleaſe thee, and be ſweet unto thee in converſation, without thy inſtruction; for love needs no teaching nor precept. On the other ſide, be not ſour or ſtern to thy wife; for cruelty engendereth no other thing than hatred.

Let her have equal part of thy eſtate whilſt thou liveſt, if thou find her ſparing and honeſt; but what thou giveſt after thy death, remember that thou giveſt it to a ſtranger, and moſt times to an enemy; for he that ſhall marry thy wife will deſpiſe thee, thy memory and thine, and ſhall poſſeſs the quiet of thy labours, the fruit which thou haſt planted, enjoy thy love, and ſpend with joy and eaſe what thou haſt ſpared, and gotten with care and travail.

Yet always remember that thou leave ıot thy wife to be a ſhame unto thee fter thou art dead, but that ſhe may ve according to thy eſtate; eſpecially thou haſt but few children, and them i d for. But howſoever it be, or ɔever thou find, leave thy wife no ɛ than of neceſſity thou muſt, but y during her widowhood; for if ſhe

love again, let her not enjoy her ſecond love in the ſame bed wherein ſhe loved thee, nor fly to future pleaſures with thoſe feathers which Death hath pulled from thy wings; but leave thy eſtate to thy houſe and children, in which thou liveſt upon earth whilſt it laſteth.

To conclude—Wives were ordained to continue the generation of men, not to transfer them and diminiſh them, either in continuance or ability; and therefore thy houſe and eſtate which liveth in thy ſon, and not in thy wife, is to be preferred.

Let thy time of marriage be in thy young and ſtrong years; for believe it, ever the young wife betrayeth the old huſband, and ſhe that had thee not in thy flower, will deſpiſe thee in thy fall [= Autumn], and thou ſhalt be unto her but a captivity and ſorrow.

Thy beſt time will be towards thirty; for as the younger times are unfit, either to chooſe or to govern a wife and family; ſo if thou ſtay long, thou ſhalt hardly ſee the education of thy children, which being left to ſtrangers, are in effect loſt; and better were it to be unborn than ill-bred; for thereby thy poſterity ſhall

either periſh or remain a ſhame to thy name and family. Furthermore, if it be late ere thou take a wife, thou ſhalt ſpend thy prime and ſummer of thy life with harlots, deſtroy thy health, impoveriſh thy eſtate and endanger thy life; and be ſure of this, that how many miſtreſſes ſoever thou haſt, ſo many enemies thou ſhalt purchaſe to thyſelf. For there never was any ſuch affection which ended not in hatred or diſdain. Remember the ſaying of Solomon, 'There is a way which ſeemeth right to a man, but the iſſues thereof are the ways of death' [Prov. xiv. 12]; for howſoever a lewd woman pleaſe thee for a time, thou wilt hate her in the end and ſhe will ſtudy to deſtroy thee. If thou canſt not abſtain from them in thy vain and unbridled times, yet remember that thou ſoweſt on the ſands and doſt mingle thy vital blood with corruption, and purchaſeſt diſeaſes, repentance and hatred only.

Beſtow, therefore, thy youth, ſo that thou mayſt have comfort to remember it, when it hath forſaken thee, and not ſigh and grieve at the account thereof.

Whilſt thou art young thou wilt

think it will never have an enc
behold, the longeſt day hath his ev
and thou ſhalt enjoy it but once,
never [re]turns again.

Uſe it therefore as the Spri
which ſoon departeth, and wherei
oughteſt to plant, and ſow all pro
for a long and happy life.

§ iii. *Wiſeſt Men have been abus*
Flatterers.

Take care thou be not made a
flatterers, for even the wiſeſt m
abuſed by theſe.

Know therefore that flatterers
worſt kind of traitors; for the
ſtrengthen thy imperfections, enc
thee in all evils, correct thee in nc
but ſo ſhadow and paint all th
and follies, as thou ſhalt never, b
will, diſcern evil from good or vic
virtue.

And becauſe all men are apt to
themſelves, to entertain the additi
other men's praiſes is moſt perilou
not, therefore, praiſe thyſelf excep

wilt be counted a vain-glorious fool; neither take delight in the praiſe of other men, except thou deſerve it, and receive it from ſuch as are worthy and honeſt, and will withal warn thee of thy faults.

For flatterers have never any virtue. They are ever baſe, creeping, cowardly perſons.

A flatterer is ſaid to be a beaſt that biteth ſmiling. It is ſaid by Iſaiah in this manner: 'My people, they that praiſe thee ſeduce thee and diſorder the paths of thy feet' [iii. 12]; and David deſired God to cut out the tongue of a flatterer. But it is hard to know them from friends, they are ſo obſequious and full of proteſtations.

For as a wolf reſembles a dog, ſo doth a flatterer a friend.

A flatterer is compared to an ape, who, becauſe ſhe cannot defend the houſe like a dog, labour as an ox, or bear burdens as a horſe, doth therefore yet play tricks, and provoke laughter.

Thou mayſt be ſure that he that will in private tell thee thy faults, is thy friend; for he adventures thy diſlike, and doth hazard thy hatred. For there

are few men that can endure it, every man for the moſt part delighting in ſelf-praiſe, which is one of the moſt univerſal follies that bewitcheth mankind.

§ iv. *Private Quarrels to be avoided.*

Be careful to avoid public diſputations at feaſts, or at tables, among choleric or quarrelſome perſons; and eſchew evermore to be acquainted or familiar with ruffians; for thou ſhalt be in as much danger in contending with a brawler in a private quarrel as in a battle, wherein thou mayſt get honour to thyſelf and ſafety to thy Prince and country; but if thou be once engaged, carry thyſelf bravely, that they may fear thee after.

To ſhun, therefore, private fight, be well adviſed in thy words and behaviour, for honour and ſhame is in the talk, and the tongue of a man cauſeth him to fall.

Jeſt not openly at thoſe that are ſimple, but remember how much thou art bound to God, who hath made thee wiſer.

Defame not any woman publicly,

though thou know her to be evil; for thoſe that are faulty cannot endure to be taxed [=accuſed or condemned], but will ſeek to be avenged of thee; and thoſe that are not guilty cannot endure unjuſt reproach.

And as there is nothing more ſhameful and diſhoneſt than to do wrong, ſo truth itſelf cutteth his throat that carrieth her publicly in every place.

Remember the divine ſaying, 'He that keepeth his mouth keepeth his life' [Prov. xiii. 3]. Do, therefore, right to all men where it may profit them, and thou ſhalt thereby get much love; and forbear to ſpeak evil things of men, though it be true (if thou be not conſtrained), and thereby thou ſhalt avoid malice and revenge.

Do not accuſe any man of any crime, if it be not to ſave thyſelf, thy prince, or country; for there is nothing more diſhonourable (next to treaſon itſelf) than to be an accuſer. Notwithſtanding, I would not have thee for any reſpect loſe thy reputation, or endure public diſgrace; for better it were not to live than to live a coward, if the offence proceed not from thyſelf; if it

do, it ſhall be better to compound it upon good terms than to hazard thyſelf. For if thou overcome thou art under the cruelty of the law, if thou art overcome thou art dead or diſhonoured. If thou, therefore, contend, or diſcourſe in argument, let it be with wiſe and ſober men, of whom thou muſt learn by reaſoning, and not with ignorant perſons; for thou ſhalt thereby inſtruct thoſe that will not thank thee, and will utter what they have learned from thee for their own. But if thou know more than other men, utter it when it may do thee honour, and not in aſſemblies of ignorant and common perſons.

Speaking much, alſo, is a ſign of vanity; for he that is laviſh in words is a niggard in deeds; and as Solomon ſaith: 'The mouth of a wiſe man is in his heart; the heart of a fool is in his mouth, becauſe what he knoweth or thinketh he uttereth' [xiv. 33].

And by thy words and diſcourſes men will judge thee; for, as Socrates ſaith 'Such as thy works are, ſuch will th affections be eſteemed; and ſuch wi thy deeds as thy affections, and ſuch th life as thy deeds.'

herefore, be adviſed what thou doſt
urſe of, and what thou maintaineſt;
her touching religion, State, or
y, for if thou err in the firſt thou
be counted profane; if in the
d, dangerous; if in the third,
reet and fooliſh.
: that cannot refrain from much
ing is like a city without walls,
eſs pains in the world a man cannot
than to hold his tongue.
herefore, if thou obſerveſt this rule
l aſſemblies, thou ſhalt ſeldom err.
ain thy choler, hearken much and
little; for the tongue is the inſtru-
of the greateſt good and greateſt
hat is done in the world. Accord-
o Solomon, 'life and death are in
power of the tongue' [xviii. 12];
s Euripides truly affirmeth, 'Every
idled tongue in the end ſhall find
unfortunate,' for in all that ever
ſerved in the courſe of worldly
s I ever found that men's fortunes
ftener made by their tongues than
heir virtues, and more men's for-
overthrown thereby alſo than by
vices.
id, to conclude, all quarrels, miſ-

chief, hatred, and deſtruction ariſe from unadviſed ſpeech, and in much ſpeech there are many errors, out of which thy enemies ſhall ever take the moſt dangerous advantage. And as thou ſhalt be happy if thou thyſelf obſerve theſe things, ſo ſhall it be moſt profitable for thee to avoid their companies that err in this kind; and not to hearken to tale-bearers, to inquiſitive perſons, and ſuch as buſy themſelves with other men's eſtates; that creep into houſes as ſpies, to learn news which concerns them not; for aſſure thyſelf ſuch perſons are moſt baſe and unworthy, and I never knew any of them proſper, or reſpected amongſt worthy or wiſe men.

Take heed, alſo, that thou be not found a liar; for a lying ſpirit is hateful both to God and man. A liar is commonly a coward, for he dares not avow truth. A liar is truſted of no man; he can have no credit, either in public o private.

And if there were no more argumen than this, know that our Lord, in S John, ſaith, 'that it is a vice proper Satan' [viii. 44], lying being oppoſite the nature of God, which conſiſteth

. And the gain of lying is nothing ıut not to be truſted of any, nor to be ved when we ſay the truth. It is in the Proverbs that 'God hateth lips, and he that ſpeaketh lies ſhall ı' [xix. 9]. Thus thou mayſt ſee ind in all the books of God how s and contrary to God a liar is; for the world, believe it, that it did any man good (except in the mity of ſaving life); for a liar is baſe, unworthy, and cowardly

Three Rules to be obſerved for the Preſervation of a Man's Eſtate.

ıongſt all other things of the world, :are of thy eſtate, which thou ſhalt preſerve, if thou obſerve three ı: firſt, that thou know what thou vhat everything is worth that thou ınd to ſee that thou art not waſted ſervants and officers. The ſecond .t thou never ſpend anything before ıave it, for borrowing is the canker leath of every man's eſtate. The is, that thou ſuffer not thyſelf to

be wounded for othe
ſcourged for other m
is the ſurety for an
millions of men ha
and deſtroyed, payin
other men's riot and
men's folly and prodi

If thou ſmart, ſi
ſins; and above a
made an aſs to car
other men.

If any friend def
ſurety, give him a
haſt to ſpare. If he
he is not thy friend
rather chooſeth hai
offereth it. If thou
ſtranger, thou art a f
chant, thou putteſt t
ſwim; if for a chu
inheritance; if for
find an evaſion by a
abuſe thee; if for
muſt pay it thyſelf;
it need not; ther
ſhip, as from a man
bleſs thyſelf, for t
return will be this,
him for whom thou

himſelf, he will become thy enemy; if thou uſe to pay it thyſelf, thou wilt become a beggar.

And believe thy father in this, and print it in thy thought, that what virtue ſoever thou haſt, be it never ſo manifold, if thou be poor withal, thou and thy qualities ſhall be deſpiſed. Beſides, poverty is oftentimes ſent as a curſe of God. It is a ſhame amongſt men, an impriſonment of the mind, a vexation of every worthy ſpirit. Thou ſhalt neither help thyſelf nor others; thou ſhalt drown thee in all thy virtues, having no means to ſhow them; thou ſhalt be a burden and an eyeſore to thy friends, every man will fear thy company, thou ſhalt be driven baſely to beg and depend on others, to flatter unworthy men, to make diſhoneſt ſhifts; and, to conclude, poverty provokes a man to do infamous and deteſted deeds. Let not vanity, therefore, or perſuaſion, draw thee to that worſt of worldly miſeries.

If thou be rich, it will give thee pleaſure in health, comfort in ſickneſs, keep thy mind and body free, ſave thee from many perils, relieve thee in thy older years, relieve the poor and thy

honeſt friends, and give means to thy poſterity to live and defend themſelves and thine own fame. Where it is ſaid in the Proverbs that 'he ſhall be ſore vexed that is ſurety for a ſtranger, and he that hateth ſuretyſhip is ſure' [xi. 15], it is further ſaid, 'The poor is hated even of his own neighbour, but the rich have many friends' [xiv. 20]. Lend not to him that is mightier than thyſelf, for if thou lendeſt him count it but loſt. Be not ſurety above thy power, for if thou be ſurety, think to pay it.

§ vi. *What ſort of Servants fitteſt to be Entertained.*

Let thy ſervants be ſuch as thou mayſt command, and entertain none about thee but yeomen, to whom thou giveſt wages; for thoſe that will ſerve thee without thy hire will coſt thee treble as much as they that know thy fare.

If thou truſt any ſervant with thy purſe, be ſure thou take his account ere thou ſleep; for if thou put it off, thou wilt then afterwards for tedioufneſs

neglect it. I myſelf have, therefore, loſt more than I am worth. And whatſoever thy ſervant gaineth thereby, he will never thank thee, but laugh thy ſimplicity to ſcorn; and beſides, it is the way to make thy ſervants thieves, which elſe would be honeſt.

§ vii. *Brave Rags wear ſooneſt out of Faſhion.*

Exceed not in the humour of rags and bravery, for theſe will ſoon be out of faſhion; but money in thy purſe will ever be in faſhion; and no man is eſteemed for gay garments, but by fools and women.

§ viii. *Riches not to be ſought by Evil Means.*

On the other ſide, take heed that thou ſeek not riches baſely, nor attain them by evil means; deſtroy no man for his wealth, nor take anything from

the poor, for the cry and complaint thereof will pierce the heavens. And it is moſt deteſtable before God, and moſt diſhonourable before worthy men, to wreſt anything from the needy and labouring ſoul. God will never proſper thee in aught if thou offend therein.

But uſe thy poor neighbours and tenants well. Give not them and their children to add ſuperfluity and needleſs expenſes to thyſelf. He that hath pity on another man's ſorrow ſhall be free from it himſelf; and he that delighteth in, and ſcorneth the miſery of, another, ſhall one time or another fall into it himſelf. Remember the precept, 'He that hath mercy on the poor lendeth unto the Lord, and the Lord will recompenſe him what he hath given' [xix. 1].

I do not underſtand thoſe for poor which are vagabonds and beggars, but thoſe that labour to live, ſuch as are old and cannot travel, ſuch poor widows and fatherleſs children as are ordered to be relieved, and the poor tenants that travail to pay their rents and are driven to poverty by miſchance, and not by riot or careleſs expenſes. On [illegible]

have thou compaſſion, and God will bleſs thee for it.

Make not the hungry ſoul ſorrowful; defer not thy gift to the needy; for if he curſe thee in the bitterneſs of his ſoul, his prayer ſhall be heard of Him that made him.

§ ix. *What inconveniences to ſuch as delight in Wine.*

Take eſpecial care that thou delight not in wine, for there never was any man that came to honour or preferment that loved it. For it transformeth a man into a beaſt, decayeth health, poiſoneth the breath, deſtroyeth natural heat, brings a man's ſtomach to an artificial heat, deformeth the face, rotteth the teeth, and, to conclude, maketh a man contemptible, ſoon old, and deſpiſed of all wiſe and worthy men; hated in thy ſervants, in thyſelf, and companions, for it is a bewitching and infectious vice. And remember my words, that it were better for a man to be subject to any vice than to it; for all other vanities and ſins are recovered, but a

drunkard will never ſhake off the delights of beaſtlineſs. For the longer it poſſeſſeth a man the more he will delight in it, and the older he groweth the more he ſhall be ſubject to it; for it dulleth the ſpirits and deſtroyeth the body as ivy doth the old tree, or as the worm that engendereth in the kernel of the nut.

Take heed, therefore, that ſuch a cureleſs canker paſs not thy youth, nor ſuch a beaſtly infection thy old age, for then ſhall all thy life be but as the life of a beaſt, and after thy death thou ſhalt only leave a ſhameful infamy to thy poſterity, who ſhall ſtudy to forget that ſuch a one was their father. Anacharſis ſaith, 'the firſt draught ſerveth for health, the ſecond for pleaſure, the third for ſhame, the fourth for madneſs.' But in youth there is not ſo much as one draught permitted, for it putteth fire to fire, and waſteth the natural heat and ſeed of generation. And therefore, except thou deſire to haſten thine end, take this for a general rule, that thou never add any artificial heat to thy body, by wine or ſpice, until thou find that time hath decayed thy natural heat, and

the ſooner thou beginneſt to help nature the ſooner ſhe will forſake thee and truſt altogether to art. 'Who have misfortune,' ſaith Solomon, 'who have ſorrow and grief, who have trouble without fighting, ſtrifes without cauſe, and faintneſs of eyes? Even they that ſit at wine and chain themſelves to empty cups' [Prov. xxiii. 29]. Pliny ſaith: 'Wine maketh the hand quivering, the eyes watery, the night unquiet, lewd dreams, a ſtinking breath in the morning, and an utter forgetfulneſs of all things.'

Whoſoever loveth wine ſhall not be truſted of any man, for he cannot keep a ſecret. Wine maketh man not only a beaſt, but a madman; and if thou love it, thy own wife, thy children and thy friends will deſpiſe thee. In drink men care not what they ſay, what offence they give, forget comelineſs, commit diſorders, and, to conclude, offend all virtuous and honeſt company, and God moſt of all, to whom we daily pray for health and a life free from pain; and yet by drunkenneſs and gluttonneſs (which is the drunkenneſs of feeding) we draw on, ſaith Heſiod, 'a ſwift, haſty, untimely, cruel, and an infamous old age.'

And St. Auguſtine deſcribeth drunkenneſs in this manner: 'Drunkenneſs is a flattering devil, a ſweet poiſon, a pleſant ſin, which whoſoever hath hath not himſelf, which whoſoever doth commit doth not commit ſin, but he himſelf is wholly ſin.'

Innocentius ſaith: 'What is filthier than a drunken man, to whom there is ſtink in the mouth, trembling in the body, which uttereth fooliſh things and revealeth ſecret things, whoſe mind is alienate and face transformed? There is no ſecreſy where drunkenneſs rules; nay, what other miſchief doth it not deſign? Whom have not plentiful cups made eloquent and talking?'

When Diogenes ſaw a houſe to be ſold, whereof the owner was given to drink, 'I thought at the laſt,' quoth Diogenes, 'he would ſpue out a whole houſe': *ſciebam inquit, quod domum tandem evomeret.*

§ x. *Let God be thy Protector and Director in all thy actions.*

Now, for the world, I know it too well, to perſuade thee to dive into the

practices thereof; rather ſtand upon thine own guard againſt all that tempt thee thereunto, or may practiſe upon thee in thy conſcience, thy reputation, or thy purſe. Reſolve that no man is wiſe or ſafe but he that is honeſt.

Serve God; let Him be the Author of all thy actions; commend all thy endeavours to Him that muſt either wither or proſper them. Pleaſe Him with prayer, leſt if He frown He confound all thy fortunes and labours like the drops of rain on the ſandy ground.

Let my experienced advice and fatherly inſtructions ſink deep into thy heart. So God direct thee in all His ways, and fill thy heart with His grace. (See our Introduction on this complete Paper.)

'MY OWN TIMES.'

I know that it will be ſaid by many, that I might have been more pleaſing to the readers if I had written the ſtory of mine own times, having been permitted to draw water as near the well-head as another. To this I anſwer, that who-

ſoever in writing a modern hiſtory ſhall follow truth too near the heels, it may happily ſtrike out his teeth. There is no miſtreſs or guide that hath led her followers and ſervants into greater miſeries. He that goes after her too far off, loſeth her ſight and loſeth himſelf; and he that walks after her at a middle diſtance, I know not whether I ſhould call that kind of courſe temper or baſeneſs. It is true that I never travelled after men's opinions when I might have made the beſt uſe of them; and I have now too few days remaining to imitate thoſe that, either out of extreme ambition or extreme cowardice, or both, do yet (when Death hath them on his ſhoulders) flatter the world between the bed and the grave. It is enough for me (being in that ſtate I am) to write of the oldeſt times; wherein alſo, why may it not be ſaid, that in ſpeaking of the Paſt I point at the Preſent, and tax the vices of thoſe that are yet living in their perſons that are long ſince dead, and have it laid to my charge. But this I cannot help, though innocent. And certainly, if there be any that, finding themſelves ſpotted like

the tigers of old time, ſhall find fault with me for painting them over anew, they ſhall therein accuſe themſelves juſtly, and me falſely. For I proteſt before the majeſty of God, that I malice no man under the ſun. Impoſſible I know it is to pleaſe all, ſeeing few or none are ſo pleaſed with themſelves, or ſo aſſured of themſelves, by reaſon of their ſubjection to their private paſſions, but that they ſeem diverſe perſons in one and the ſame day. (Preface, H. W.)

HISTORY—ITS RIGHTS AND DIGNITY.

Among many other benefits for which History hath been honoured, in this one it triumpheth over all human knowledge, that it hath given us life in our underſtanding, ſince by it the world itſelf had life and beginning, even to this day: yea, it hath triumphed over Time, which beſides it nothing but Eternity hath triumphed over. For it hath carried our knowledge over the vaſt and devouring ſpace of ſo many thouſands of

years, and given ſo fair and pie
eyes to our mind, that we plainly b
living now, as if we had lived then
great world, *magni Dei ſapiens o*
'the wiſe world,' ſaith Hermes, '
great God'—as it was then, wher
new to itſelf. By it, I ſay, it is
we live in the very time when i
created; we behold how it was gove
how it was covered with water
again repeopled; how kings and
doms have flouriſhed and fallen, an
what virtue and piety God made
perous, and for what vice and defo
He made wretched, both the one
the other. And it is not the leaſt
which we owe unto HISTORY, th
hath made us acquainted with our
anceſtors, and out of the depth
darkneſs of the Earth delivered us
memory and fame. In a word, we
gather out of Hiſtory a policy n
wiſe than eternal, by the comp
and application of other men's
paſſed miſeries with our own like
and ill-deſervings. (*Ibid.*)

ENGLISH v. ROMAN AND FRENCH VALOUR.

Methinks it were not amiſs for an Engliſhman to give ſuch a ſentence between the Macedonians and Romans as the Romans once did (being choſen arbitrators) between the Ardeates and Aricini, that ſtrove about a piece of land, ſaying that it belonged unto neither of them, but unto the Romans themſelves. If, therefore, it be demanded whether the Macedonian or the Roman were the beſt warrior? I will anſwer 'The Engliſhman'; for it will ſoon appear to any that ſhall examine the noble acts of our Nation in war, that they were performed by no advantage of weapon, againſt no ſavage or unmanly people; the enemy being far ſuperior unto us in numbers and all needful proviſions, yea, as well trained as we, or commonly better, in the exerciſe of war.

In what ſort Philip won his dominions in Greece; what manner of men the Perſians and Indians were, whom Alexander vanquiſhed; as likewiſe of what

I rather chooſe to want relief
  Than venture the revealing:
Where glory recommends the grief,
  Deſpair diſtruſts the healing.

Thus thoſe deſires that aim too high
  For any mortal lover,
When Reaſon cannot make them die,
  Diſcretion doth them cover.

Yet, when diſcretion doth bereave
  The plaints that they ſhould utter,
Then thy diſcretion may perceive
  That ſilence is a ſuitor.

Silence in love bewrays more woe
  Than words, though ne'er ſo witty:
A beggar that is dumb, you know,
  May challenge double pity.

Then wrong not, deareſt to my heart,
  My true, though ſecret, paſſion;
He ſmarteth moſt that hides his ſmart,
  And ſues for no compaſſion.

A POESY TO PROVE AFFECTION IS NOT LOVE.

[*Before* 1602.]

Conceit, begotten by the eyes,
Is quickly born and quickly dies;
For while it ſeeks our hearts to brave,
Meanwhile there Reaſon makes his grave;
For many things the eyes approve,
Which yet the heart doth ſeldom move.

For as the ſeeds in Spring-time ſown
Die in the ground ere they be grown,
Such is conceit, whoſe rooting fails
As child that in the cradle quails,
Or elſe within the mother's womb
Hath his beginning and his tomb.

Affection follows Fortune's wheels,
And ſoon is ſhaken from her heels;
For following beauty or eſtate,
Her liking ſtill is turned to hate;
For all affections have their change,
And Fancy only loves to range.

Deſire himſelf runs out of breath,
And, getting, doth but gain his death;

Deſire nor reaſon hath not reſt,
And, blind, doth ſeldom chooſe the beſt;
Deſire attained is not deſire,
But as the cinders of the fire.

As ſhips in port deſired are drowned,
As fruit, once ripe, then falls to ground,
As flies that ſeek for flames are brought
To cinders by the flames they ſought;
So fond deſire, when it attains,
The life expires, the woe remains.

And yet ſome poets fain would prove
Affection to be perfect love,
And that deſire is of that kind
No leſs a paſſion of the mind;
As if wild beaſts and men did ſeek
To like, to love, to chooſe alike.

VERSES FOUND IN HIS BIB IN THE GATEHOUSE WESTMINSTER, 1618.

[*Transcribed by Sancroft, Archbishop Canterbury.*]

Even ſuch is time, that takes in truſt
  Our youth, our joy, our all we ha'
And pays us but with earth and duſt
  Who, in the dark and ſilent grave,
When we have wander'd all our way
Shuts up the ſtory of our days;
But from this earth, this grave, this
  duſt,
My God ſhall raiſe me up, I truſt.

THE END.

Elliot Stock, 62, *Paternoster Row*, *London*, *E.C.*

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